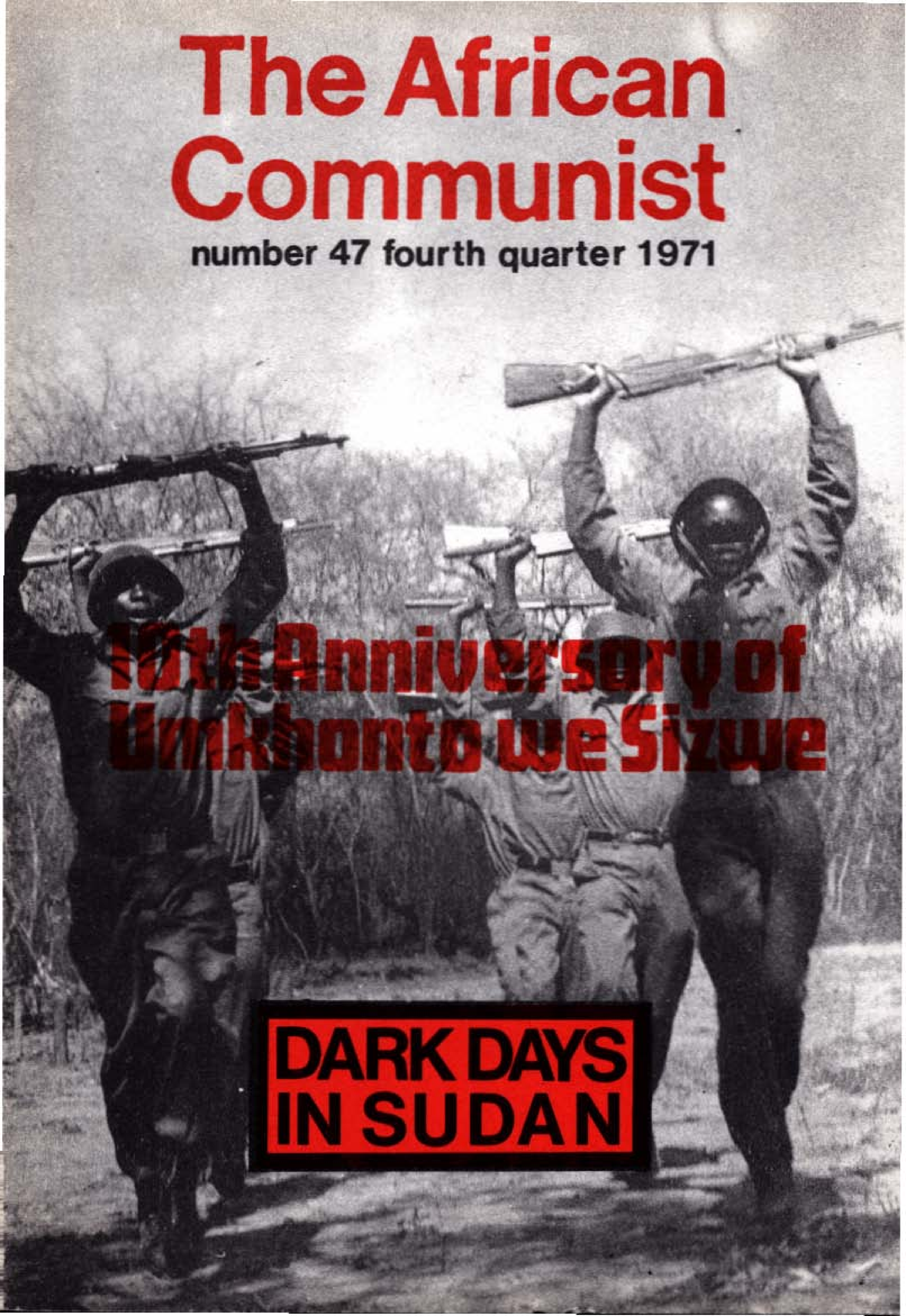
The African Communist

number 47 fourth quarter 1971



10th Anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe

DARK DAYS IN SUDAN

PRICE PER COPY

AFRICA : 5p (1 shilling)
ELSEWHERE: U.K. 15p (3/-) U.S. 50 cents

SUBSCRIPTION

AFRICA : 20 p (4 shillings) AIR MAIL £1. 10. 0.
U.K. & EUROPE
1 year (four issues) 60p (12/-)
2 years £ 1.
U.S. & CANADA
1 year $ 2.00 (Airmail $ 4.00)
2 years $ 3.50 (Airmail $ 6.00)
STUDENTS : 25% discount on
Surface mail subscriptions.

AGENTS

Usual trade discount (one-third of retail price) to bookshops and sellers ordering 6 or more copies

EDITORIAL

Articles, letters, material for articles and comments are invited on all themes of African interest, but payment is by prior arrangement only.

ADDRESS
All correspondence to the distributor:
Inkululeko Publications
39 Goodge Street
London W 1 England

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

Published quarterly in the interests
of African solidarity, and as a forum
for Marxist-Leninist thought
throughout our Continent, by the
South African Communist Party

No. 47 Fourth Quarter 1971

CONTENTS

5 **Editorial Notes**

How Our Anniversary Was Celebrated — a report on the manner in which the 50th anniversary of the South African Communist Party was celebrated both inside and outside South Africa.

18 **A Tribute from the Soviet Union**

Opening address delivered by Academician A.M. Rumyantsev at a Moscow seminar on the SACP's 50th anniversary.

22 **Ten Years of Umkhonto we Sizwe, by Sol Dubula**

A survey of the achievements of South Africa's freedom fighters, and a discussion of the role of the armed struggle in national liberation.

39 **50 Years of the Communist Party — 4**
Apartheid, Resistance and Armed Struggle,
by A. Lerumo

In this final section of his series of articles on the history of the SACP, the author shows how the Party adapted itself to the conditions of underground struggle after the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950.

57 **Why I Joined the Communist Party, by Arnold Adams**

62 **Dark Days in the Sudan, by El Mahdawi**

A Sudanese comrade examines the causes and development of the July 19th Revolution in the Sudan, and exposes the collaboration of foreign intervention and internal reaction in crushing the democratic aspirations of the Sudanese people.

68 & 69 **Picture Feature — 100th Anniversary of the birth of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg**

70 **The Sudan Events —**
SACP Central Committee Statement

73 **The Man They Resolved to Kill —**
George Jackson 1941-1971, by D. W.

76 Africa Notes and Comments, by A. Langa

TANZANIA : Debate Over Socialism
CHAD : Fake Withdrawal
MALAGASY : Slide Into Crisis

83 How the Militants Came to Power in the Indian Congress, by Azad

An historical Study of developments in the Indian Congress in Natal and the Transvaal during the 1940s which turned out the old compromising leadership and brought the new progressive elements into office.

107 Science and Africa, by Dr R. Press

The level of scientific education in Africa is below the requirements for full development of the rich potential of the continent. A comparison with Kazakhstan in the Soviet Union shows that socialism could bring enormous benefits to Africa.

113 Taxation Robs the African People, by Sizakele Sigxashe

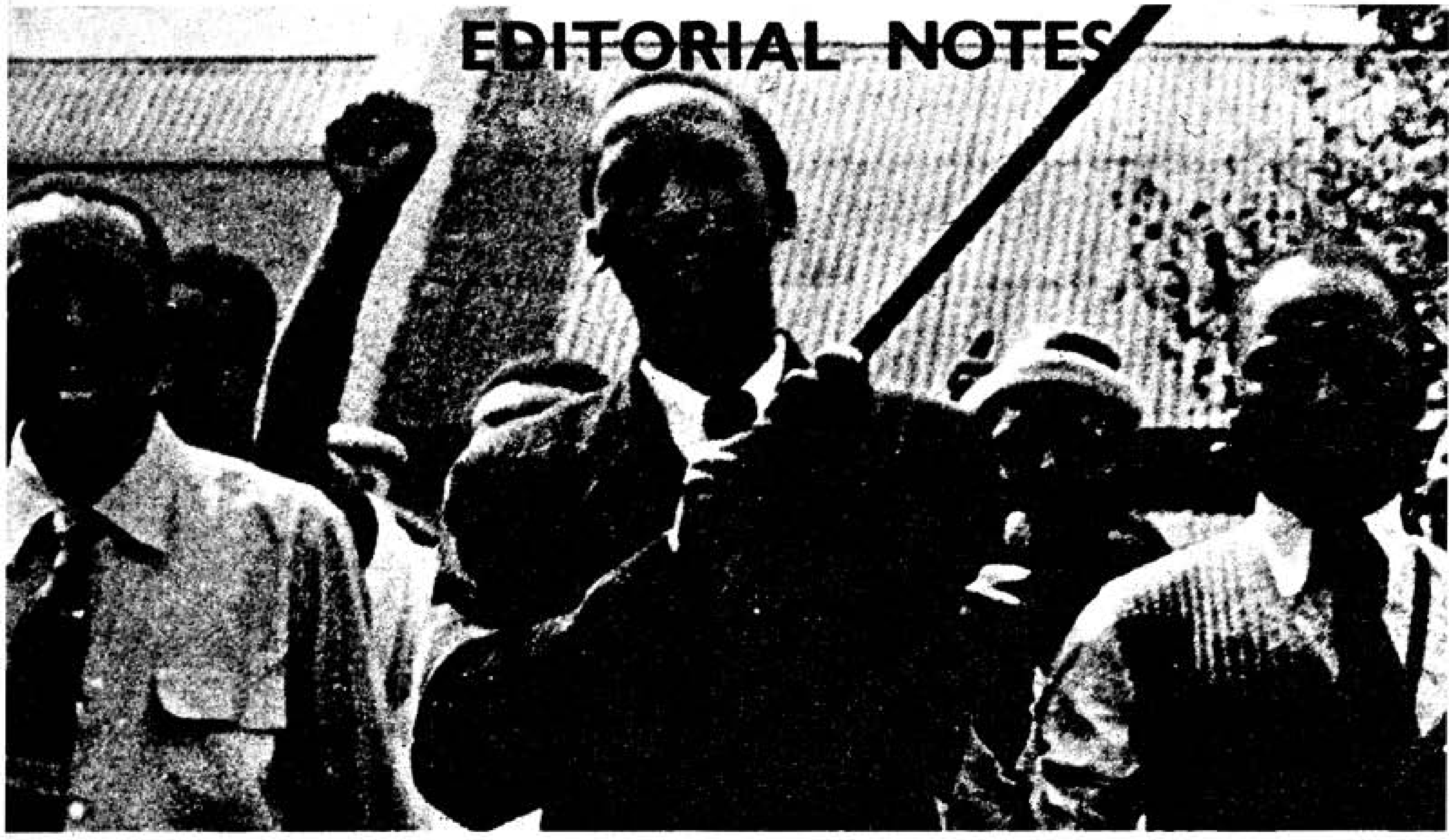
An examination of the Parliamentary budget shows how the South African tax system is designed by the Government to benefit the rich and fleece the poor; an essential financial prop for White Supremacy.

122 Book Reviews

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WORLD: THE FOREIGN POLICY OF APARTHEID, by Avery Vandenbosch (Phineas Malinga).
THE OXFORD HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA VOL II: SOUTH AFRICA 1870-1966. Edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (A. Lerumo).
TRAILBLAZERS — STRUGGLES AND ORGANISATIONS OF AFRICAN WORKERS BEFORE 1945, by H. Deutschland (F. Meli).
SOUTH AFRICA: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES, edited by Heribert Adam (S. O'C).
INTELLIGENCE. PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION — A MARXIST CRITIQUE, by Brian Simon (P. H.).
APARTHEID AXIS — UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA, by William J. Pomery (T.).

135 All Went Magnificent in '21, Poem by Scarlet Whitman

EDITORIAL NOTES



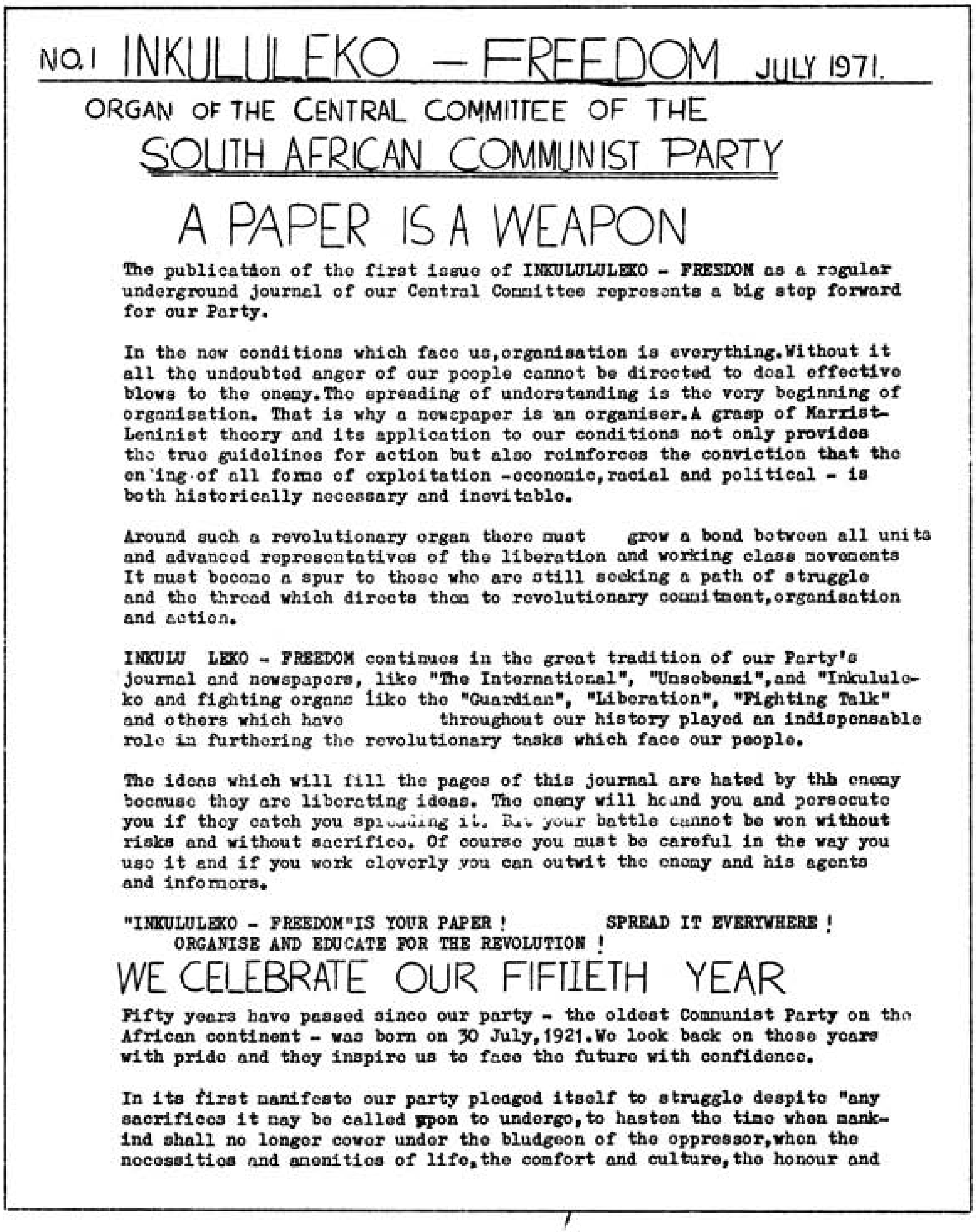
HOW OUR ANNIVERSARY WAS CELEBRATED

With this issue of the "African Communist" we are able to report that the 50th anniversary of our Party was commemorated, both inside South Africa and throughout the rest of the world, in a manner which should be a cause of the greatest satisfaction to every Party member and supporter. That small, brave band of men and women who founded the Party on July 30, 1921, could not have dreamed of the impressive recognition of their initiative which was accorded both nationally and internationally in these recent months.

In South Africa itself the South African Communist Party heralded its anniversary with the publication in July of the first number of a new underground journal "Inkululeko-Freedom", described as the organ of the Central Committee of the Party. Proclaiming that "A Paper is a Weapon", the journal declared in an editorial:

> "The publication of the first issue of 'Inkululeko-Freedom' as a regular underground journal of our Central Committee represents a big step forward for our Party.
>
> "In the new conditions which face us, organisation is everything. Without it all the undoubted anger of our people cannot be directed to deal effective blows to the enemy. The spreading of understanding is the very beginning of organisation. That is why a newspaper is an organiser. A grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory and its application to our conditions not only provides the true guidelines for action but also reinforces the conviction that the ending of all forms of exploitation — economic, racial and political — is both historically necessary and inevitable.
>
> "Around such a revolutionary organ there must grow a bond between all units and advanced representatives of the liberation and working class movements. It must become a spur to those who are still seeking a path of struggle and the thread which directs them to revolutionary commitment, organisation and action.
>
> "Inkululeko-Freedom continues in the great tradition of our Party's journal and newspapers, like 'The International', 'Umsebenzi' and 'Inkululeko' and fighting organs like the 'Guardian', 'Liberation', 'Fighting Talk' and others which have throughout our history played an indispensable role in furthering the revolutionary tasks which face our people.
>
> "The ideas which will fill the pages of this journal are hated by the enemy because they are liberating ideas. The enemy will hound you and persecute you if they catch you spreading it. But your battle cannot be won without risks and without sacrifice. Of course you must be careful in the way you use it and if you work cleverly you can outwit the enemy and his agents and informers.
>
> "INKULULEKO-FREEDOM IS YOUR PAPER! SPREAD IT EVERYWHERE! ORGANISE AND EDUCATE FOR THE REVOLUTION!"

The journal outlines the history of white conquest and domination in South Africa, and then shows how the Communist Party has from its inception fought to bring



NO.1 INKULULEKO – FREEDOM JULY 1971.

ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A PAPER IS A WEAPON

The publication of the first issue of INKULULULEKO – FREEDOM as a regular underground journal of our Central Committee represents a big step forward for our Party.

In the new conditions which face us, organisation is everything. Without it all the undoubted anger of our people cannot be directed to deal effective blows to the enemy. The spreading of understanding is the very beginning of organisation. That is why a newspaper is an organiser. A grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory and its application to our conditions not only provides the true guidelines for action but also reinforces the conviction that the ending of all forms of exploitation – economic, racial and political – is both historically necessary and inevitable.

Around such a revolutionary organ there must grow a bond between all units and advanced representatives of the liberation and working class movements It must become a spur to those who are still seeking a path of struggle and the thread which directs them to revolutionary commitment, organisation and action.

INKULULEKO – FREEDOM continues in the great tradition of our Party's journal and newspapers, like "The International", "Umsebenzi", and "Inkululeko and fighting organs like the "Guardian", "Liberation", "Fighting Talk" and others which have throughout our history played an indispensable role in furthering the revolutionary tasks which face our people.

The ideas which will fill the pages of this journal are hated by thb enemy because they are liberating ideas. The enemy will hound you and persecute you if they catch you spreading it. But your battle cannot be won without risks and without sacrifice. Of course you must be careful in the way you use it and if you work cleverly you can outwit the enemy and his agents and informers.

"INKULULEKO – FREEDOM" IS YOUR PAPER ! SPREAD IT EVERYWHERE !
ORGANISE AND EDUCATE FOR THE REVOLUTION !

WE CELEBRATE OUR FIFTIETH YEAR

Fifty years have passed since our party – the oldest Communist Party on the African continent – was born on 30 July, 1921. We look back on those years with pride and they inspire us to face the future with confidence.

In its first manifesto our party pledged itself to struggle despite "any sacrifices it may be called upon to undergo, to hasten the time when mankind shall no longer cower under the bludgeon of the oppressor, when the necessities and amenities of life, the comfort and culture, the honour and

The front-page of the new underground journal of the South African Communist Party launched in South Africa to mark the 50th anniversary of the Party's foundation on July 30, 1921.

about a revolutionary change, in association with other liberation organisations in South Africa and with the world Communist and anti-imperialist movement. A brief history of the Communist Party concludes with a summary of the decisions taken at the recent meeting of the Party's Central Committee. The journal declares:

> "On this our fiftieth anniversary, the Central Committee and our whole Party salutes those who are constructing socialism and fighting imperialism. We reaffirm our confidence in the principles of Communism and internationalism, of victory for our people and for the working class and pledge
> * to intensify our efforts — whatever the sacrifices — to help liberate the mass of our oppressed people from race domination and to bring about an independent South Africa free from all forms of exploitation
> * unqualified support for the armed revolutionary cadres of the whole movement to spread the areas of armed combat to the heart of our country
> * the intensification of our efforts to build our Party as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class and to fortify it in the face of police terror
> * the strengthening still further of the unity of all true patriotic forces as expressed in the alliance headed by the African National Congress.
>
> "WE CALL UPON THE WORKING PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY AND ESPECIALLY THE WORKERS AND OPPRESSED AFRICAN, COLOURED AND INDIAN PEOPLE TO UNITE THEIR RANKS TO RESIST TYRANNICAL DOMINATION IN EVERY SPHERE AND BY EVERY MEANS AND TO WORK FOR THE CONQUEST OF POWER BY THE PEOPLE.
>
> "LONG LIVE COMMUNISM AND TRUE INTERNATIONALISM!
>
> "LONG LIVE THE ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTIC FORCES!
>
> "LONG LIVE THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY!"

"Inkululeko-Freedom" was distributed in all the main centres of South Africa. At present an eight-page duplicated journal, it is hoped to increase the size and improve the presentation as the Party's internal apparatus expands the range of its work and contacts. The distribution was reported in the daily press, and was carried out without a hitch, despite the efforts of the Security Police and their army of paid agents and informers.

The Party also distributed inside South Africa, as part of its work during its jubilee year, specially printed copies of its quarterly organ "The African Communist", and a number of other Marxist works.

Stickers printed in red and black reading "50 Fighting Years 1921-1971 The South African Communist Party" were also plastered on poles, walls and fences in all the main centres.

In carrying out these tasks successfully, the Party was implementing its Central Committee resolution to reconstitute itself inside South Africa as its main contribution to the furthering of the South African revolution.

* * * * *

FRATERNAL CONGRATULATIONS

The Communist Party's 50th anniversary was celebrated by fraternal organisations throughout the world. From our own country we received congratulations from the African National Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. In the Soviet Union a special all-day seminar, addressed by the chairman of the SACP J. B. Marks, and leading scholars, was devoted to the occasion — the opening address of Academician A. M. Rumyantsev is printed in full on page 18. The columns of the fraternal press were opened to us, and special articles and interviews were published in many countries.

From all these acts of national and international solidarity, no South African Communist can be left in doubt of the high respect and esteem in which the work of his Party is held. It is to be hoped that these magnificent demonstrations of support will act as a spur to every party member to raise his work to a new high level, to devote all his energies to the task of the liberation of our country, to allow nothing to come between him and the fulfilment of his Party duties.

The whole progressive world has acknowledged the vanguard role of our Party. Every Party member must respond to the limit of his energy and ability.

We reproduce below extracts from some of the many messages received from fraternal organisations and parties in connection with our 50th anniversary:

Oliver Tambo,
Acting President-General of the African National Congress:
The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa, on behalf of the entire membership, sends revolutionary greetings on the historical occasion of the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the South African Communist Party. The occasion is an historic milestone in our people's liberation struggle.

Forward to revolutionary struggle and victory!

Amandla!

Mark W. Shope,
General Secretary, South African Congress of Trade Unions:
We South African trade unionists, regardless of our varying political and philosophical beliefs, can never forget the outstanding and self-sacrificing role which your Party, its pioneers and members, have played in the building of the labour movement of our country.

Dear comrades, we are all too well aware of the bitter fascist repression which has faced the whole of our movement during the past decades. Tens of thousands of our trade unionists have faced imprisonment, have been jailed, tortured, exiled and murdered. Against this racialist terror we of the working class movement have joined forces in unbreakable alliance with our brothers of the national liberation front of the African National Congress and its partners. We know full well the irreplaceable part which has been and will always be played in our sufferings and sacrifices and in our achievements and victories by the party of the working class, the Communist Party. We are confident that in the course of this testing struggle the relationship and friendship between our two working-class organisations will be still further strengthened.

Central Committee Communist Party of the Soviet Union: The Central Committee of the CPSU congratulates the fraternal SACP, the oldest Marxist-Leninist party of Africa, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of its foundation.

The activity of your Party is an example of faithful service to the interests of workers. The racialist authorities outlawed the SACP, brought down upon it cruel repressions. However, neither the prison cells, nor the tortures and executions have broken the revolutionary will of South African Communists. They march in the advance-guard of the working class and national liberation movement of their country, raise the masses for the struggle against the inhuman regime of apartheid.

The South African Communist Party acts as an active propagandist of scientific socialism on the African continent, repulses the attempts of the right wing and 'left wing' revisionists to undermine the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism, makes an important contribution to the consolidation of unity of the international communist movement.

On behalf of the Communists and the Soviet people we wish you, dear comrades, new successes in your courageous and just struggle.

Central Committee, Vietnam Workers' Party, Hanoi: Over the past 50 years, the South African Communist Party has valiantly led in hard conditions the South African working people to struggle against the white minority administration's despotic and terroristic regime, and has recorded many successes in the liberation of the oppressed nations in South Africa.

On this occasion we sincerely thank the South African Communist Party for their warm support to the Vietnamese people's just fight. May solidarity and friendship between our two parties and peoples further consolidate and develop every day.

National Committee of the Communist Party of the USA:
Your party as mobiliser of the armed struggle against the fascist apartheid government of South Africa is leading the people towards a new national renascence, against the barriers of racism, monopoly exploitation and colonialism, into a new age of democracy and socialism .

The SACP's role in the cause of strengthening the ties of proletarian internationalism and for unity of the world Communist movement and solidarity of anti-imperialist forces the world around is well known and highly regarded by all Marxist-Leninists. In the principled leadership and firm course taken by the SACP, great victories are predictable.

Ali Yata, Secretary General,
Party of Liberation and Socialism, Morocco:
The SACP has correctly resolved the difficult problem presented by the extremely special complexity of colonialism combined with virulent racialism, on the one hand, and capitalism in an advanced stage on the other. The SACP is a Party profoundly African and works and fights in the front ranks against apartheid, exploitation and oppression.

The struggle of the CP and the people of South Africa and the South African colony of Namibia is inseparable from those other struggles for national liberation and social advance all over Africa, and with the Arab countries which fight, in Israel, an enemy by nature imperialist, colonialist and racialist which is Zionism.

Central Committee, German Socialist Unity Party:
The German Democratic Republic is a tried and trusted ally of all peoples struggling for freedom and independence.

In South Africa, as everywhere in the world, the West German Government links itself with the ruling reactionary and racist clique. In pursuit of their imperialist world strategy, the West German Government undertakes the construction of the atomic Bonn-Pretoria axis, which directly threatens the peace and independence of the African peoples.

The German Socialist Unity Party and the people of the German Democratic Republic stand constantly in brotherly solidarity on the side of the South African liberation movement and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard. Together with millions of freedom-loving people we call for the freeing of the outstanding patriots of the South African people Mandela, Sisulu, Abram Fischer and all other imprisoned fighters for national liberation, democracy and peace.

Central Committee, Communist Party of Syria:
Your party has been always taking the position of struggle against world imperialism and racial discrimination. It has always represented the hope of your industrious people in the struggle for liberation and progress. It has always been the pride of all detachments of the world workers' and communist movement.

The Communist Party of Syria also highly regards your stand in supporting the struggle of the Arab national liberation movement against imperialism, zionism and reaction, for abolishing the consequences of the treacherous Israeli aggression against the Arab nation, for independence, people's democracy, social progress, socialism and Arab unity.

National Council, Communist Party of India:
The South African Communists have a most glorious record of sacrifice and adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The heroic struggles of the past have culminated in the armed liberation struggle of the past decade, in which the South African Communists participate with such bravery and skill.

Central Committee, Communist Party of Japan:
As the imperialist forces headed by the United States are trying to turn South Africa into a neo-colonialist base directed against the upsurging national liberation struggle, your struggle is of an important significance for the international anti-imperialist struggle.

Expecting that your struggle will further develop, we wish to strengthen the friendly relations between our two parties, through the common struggles against our common enemies, and in accordance with the norms governing the relationship between the fraternal parties, that is, independence, equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and international solidarity.

John Gollan,
General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain:
Despite the many grievous blows struck against your Party by the monopoly groups which control your country and which maintain a barbarous system of racial and anti-democratic repression, your courageous members have continued to struggle to unite all working people — African, Indian, Coloured and White — against the tyrannical system of apartheid. The multi-racial character of your Party is itself testimony to your capacity and to your fidelity to the cause of working class unity.

Despite the heavy responsibilities for the struggle in South Africa which lie on the shoulders of your Party you have never hesitated to extend your solidarity to those struggling in other territories in Africa to liberate their countries from imperialist exploitation. Your internationalist and anti-imperialist stand has undoubtedly helped to inspire the unity of all the fighting forces of national liberation throughout the territories of southern Africa, and beyond.

In hailing your fifty years' glorious history, we pledge ourselves to struggle unremittingly in support of your cause, confident that you will overcome, that apartheid will be consigned to the dustbin of history, and that your courageous leaders will be liberated from jail to take their honoured and justified place in the leading councils of your people.

Meir Vilner,
General Secretary, Communist Party of Israel:
Dear comrades, we feel very close to you, and that not only as members of our international communist movement.

We are painfully aware of the co-operation existing between the racist leaders of South Africa and the zionist leaders of Israel. This co-operation is manifold and gaining momentum. South African capital is being exported to Israel. South African and Israel capital and policies are co-ordinating their activity in Africa against the national liberation movement of the peoples, against the anti-imperialist unity of the peoples, against the territorial integrity of the progressive African states.

Thus, we are working against an unholy alliance of anti-communist and anti-popular forces which form a link in the global strategy of world imperialism headed by US imperialism.

Janet Jagan,
International Secretary, People's Progressive Party, Guyana:
Being the first Marxist-Leninist Party on the African continent, it is an especial privilege for us to extend congratulations on your 50th birthday. Events, particularly recent events, unfolding in Africa suggest that Marxist-Leninist Parties are indispensable if the people are to win and preserve genuine freedom and construct a new society. The SACP, first of its type in Africa, with 50 years of experience behind it, has significance not only in South Africa, but indeed, in the entire continent and the world.

National Executive, New Zealand Socialist Unity Party:
Your struggle against apartheid is an inspiration to the world. Here in New Zealand, we pledge ourselves to intensify and broaden the fight against apartheid, which is repugnant to the great majority of the people of New Zealand. Although this is so, there is no room for complacency, as indicated by the failure of New Zealanders to prevent its All Black rugby team from visiting South Africa, despite a wide mass campaign of opposition to it.

We also much appreciate your firm political stand in support of the decisions of the international communist movement, and opposition to those who would disunify it.

Central Committee, Communist Party of France:
The French Communist Party conveys to you on this occasion its best wishes for success. It reaffirms its solidarity with you and its determination to pursue the struggle against the armed alliance of the French Government and the South African Government, to win for the just struggle of your people the complete support of the French people.

Central Committee, Communist Party of Italy:
Your party has conducted a difficult and courageous struggle to spread the ideals of socialism on the African continent, to unite the African workers and also the authentic anti-racist and progressive Whites of South Africa against the apartheid regime and against the schemes of international imperialism and neo-colonialism which side with the South African racists in an attempt to hold up the process of unity and liberation in the Continent by maintaining all Southern Africa under the exploitation of the financial mining companies of Western imperialism.

We are convinced that your activities will bring about also by means of unity with the African National Congress the consolidation of the South African masses in their struggle against the apartheid regime and against foreign imperialism, opening up the prospect of a free South Africa in which the Africans will enjoy liberty and independence in their own country.

* * * * *

OTHER PARTIES

Messages of congratulation and good wishes on our 50th anniversary have also been received from the following fraternal organisations:

Communist Party of Spain
(West) German Communist Party
Communist Party of Venezuela
Romanian Communist Party

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
Bulgarian Communist Party
Polish United Workers' Party
Jordanian Communist Party
Communist Party of Canada
Communist Party of Malta
Progressive Party of Working People, Cyprus (AKEL)
Communist Party of Finland
Communist Party of Greece
Workers' Party of Korea

Limitations on space alone prevent us from publishing further extracts from these messages, but we take this opportunity to assure our comrades in every corner of the world that their good wishes are warmly received and deeply appreciated, and that all our members have been greatly heartened and encouraged by these demonstrations of international solidarity.

A TRIBUTE FROM THE SOVIET UNION

by Academician A.M. Rumyantsev

(A seminar on "50 Years of the Revolutionary Struggle of the South African Communist Party" was held in Moscow last May, under the joint auspices of the African Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Council on the History of the International Working Class and the National Liberation Movement, and the Soviet Committee on Solidarity with the countries of Asia and Africa. The seminar, which was attended by about 200 delegates, was addressed by the chairman of the South African Communist Party, J. B. Marks, and a number of Soviet specialists. We reproduce below the opening address delivered by Academician Rumyantsev, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.)

Dear comrades, dear friends,

We Soviet scientists and representatives of the public have gathered here in the Africa Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in order to mark a significant event – the 50th anniversary of the heroic South African Communist Party.

Allow me, first of all, in the name of the Central Committee, on behalf of all those who have gathered here and also for myself personally, to congratulate the veterans and leaders of the South African Communist Party who are present – its chairman Comrade Marks and other comrades.

The revolutionary activities of the South African Communists have deservedly won them respect and sympathy all over the world. From the moment of its establishment the CPSA has occupied a special place on the African Continent.

Set up in 1921 under the immediate influence of the ideas of the great October Socialist revolution, the CPSA became the first Marxist-Leninist Party in that part of the world.

The experience of the South African Communists has considerable significance for the international Communist and revolutionary movement. In the specific conditions which obtained in Africa this Party was the first to put into practice the union of Marxism-Leninism with the National Liberation Movement. Formulated by African Communists, the theoretical concepts on the national democratic revolution formed the basis of the present programme of the SACP entitled "The Road to South African Freedom".

The merit of the South African Communists lies in the fact that they worked out the fundamental principles of a scientifically well-founded programme to solve racial problems. They always took their stand from an internationalist viewpoint – whether the question was a world-wide issue or one touching on their own country only.

In their own day-to-day activities the Party consistently struggled to unite the efforts of all genuine patriots and democrats in South Africa irrespective of their national or racial origins. In this struggle the Party achieved substantial results. Close union was realised between the African National Congress, the mass national progressive organisation, the South African Indian Congress and the Coloured People's Congress.

For many years the Party fought side by side with these organisations for the realisation of national democratic goals, winning for itself prestige and recognition, and it became an inseparable part of the national-liberatory movement in the country. The Party graphically demonstrated how one ought to deal with the most important of current problems – how to unite the efforts of Communists and revolutionary democrats.

The SA Communist Party is a fighting detachment of the International Communist Movement. It steadfastly upholds the purity of Marxism-Leninism, decisively fights against "right" or "left" revisionism, makes a valuable contribution to the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the world army of Communists.

The world Communist Movement firmly expresses its solidarity with the SA Communist Party. Close brotherly relations have developed and are maintained between the SA Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The friendly feelings of the Soviet Communists was clearly shown by the unanimity with which the delegates at the 24th Congress of the CPSU cheered the appearance of the chairman of the SA Communist Party. In a resolution, the Congress emphasised "as before, the struggle against the remaining colonial regimes can reckon on our full support".

The SA Communist Party actively promotes the propagation of the theories of scientific socialism in other African countries as well. The SACP press and, in particular, its journal "African Communist" play a very important role in spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. On these publications many African revolutionaries have been educated.

Speaking about the 50-year-long history of the SACP one ought to give full credit to outstanding fighters. To be a Communist in South Africa – that means, to be a hero!

International Lenin Prizewinner Bram Fischer, Govan Mbeki, all those who suffer in the fascist torture chambers of Pretoria, Johannesburg, Robben Island which the Government turned into a death camp – all these men are symbols of bravery and staunchness. At the birth of the Party there were present such outstanding figures of the communist and workers' movement as Ivon Jones, Sidney Bunting, William Andrews. In her ranks splendid African leaders arose – Albert Nzula, Johannes Nkosi, John Marks, Moses Kotane and many others.

We Soviet Africanists are deeply interested in the documents of the SA Communist Party, the works of South African Marxist researchers, in which the problems of the African continent are discussed with a deep knowledge of African realities and with authentic scientific methodology. Because we value so highly articles in the "African Communist" we have published them in a separate book in the English and the Russian language. This is our little present to you, dear comrades, on the occasion of your Jubilee.

When we planned this conference we intended not only to mark this significant date in the history of the international and African workers' movement, but also to discuss individual scientific questions connected with the heroic struggle of the South African working people for their national and social liberation. Soviet scientists have always paid great attention to the study of the experience of South African Communists.

Famous Moscow Africanists, including Ivan Potekhin, first director of the African Institute, followed the work of the SA Communist Party. Since 1967 a sector was set up in this Institute to deal with problems of the national liberation struggle of South Africa. Scientists here and in other Soviet scientific institutes work very fruitfully in this sphere.

We hope that some of the results of our research may be of use to some extent to our South African friends. In particular I have in mind the material, published recently, of the international scientific conference "Against Racism and Neo-Colonialism; for the liberation of Southern Africa". I also have in mind theses on questions of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, prepared in the Soviet Union, as well as research in the history of the revolutionary movement in South Africa after the October Revolution, and other material.

But we feel that we can and should do more. Soviet scientists see it as their international duty to carry out the profound theoretical investigation of the problems of countries in which fraternal Communist parties work, and to maintain continuous contact with those parties.

Allow me, dear comrades, to declare this scientific conference devoted to the 50-year-old South African Communist Party duly open and wish you success in your work. Permit me also to convey our warm greetings to the South African Communists, to all South African patriots, and to express our deep conviction in the triumph of their just cause.

10 YEARS OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

by Sol Dubula

> *"The people's patience is not endless. The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices – submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa."*

In these stirring words 10 years ago on December 16, 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe – the Spear of the Nation – proclaimed its existence. In every major centre throughout the country organised bomb attacks against government property heralded the introduction of a new element in the revolutionary strategy to overthrow white supremacy.

This small beginning signalled a fresh path which historically speaking was consistent with the tradition of earlier armed resistance to foreign conquest by the African people. From now on, however long and arduous the task, the liberation organisations had committed themselves to the preparation of conditions in which popular armed force would play a significant role in the destruction of white power. It is appropriate on this anniversary to reflect on some of the experiences we have gained and the lessons we have learnt in the hard school of practical revolutionary struggle.

The Campaign of Sabotage

The sabotage campaign of the early 60s served a special purpose and was never advanced as a technique which would on its own lead to the destruction of the State or even do it serious material damage.

Its purpose was to lay the foundation for higher forms of military activity of the guerrilla type. There was the need to create an experienced professional military apparatus which would form the core of future guerrilla forces; the need to demonstrate that the movement was making a sharp and open break with the processes of the previous period which had correctly given emphasis to militant struggle short of armed confrontation; and the need to provide an effective method for the overthrow of white supremacy through planned rather than spontaneous activity. As stated in the Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress "all three needs were served by this convincing evidence that our liberation movement had correctly adjusted itself to the new situation and was creating an apparatus actually capable of clandestinely hitting the enemy and making preparations for a more advanced phase. The situation was such that without activity of this nature our whole political leadership may have been at stake both inside and outside the country and the steps which were simultaneously taken for the recruitment and preparation of military cadres would have met with less response".

New Situation – New Tactics

Long before December 16, 1961, Umkhonto we Sizwe under the direction and guidance of the political leadership took steps both inside and outside the country to prepare personnel in all aspects of the art of popular armed struggle. What triggered off this shift in policy? It was in response to a rapidly changing situation.

Broadly speaking it has always remained true that the character of the alien rule which was imposed on the indigenous people could not be broken without insurrectionary methods of one sort or another. There has never been a point in time at which it could realistically be expected that the white minority would surrender its racial privilege without a violent struggle. After the military defeat of the long-drawn-out wars of resistance by the African people in the first period of white conquest, every attempt by the people to assert their demands was met by brute repression. Yet it was only in the 60s that both the Communist Party and the ANC included in their perspectives preparation for armed struggle.

Did this change in strategy reflect on the correctness of the tactics which had been employed in previous decades? Certainly not. The earlier tactics arose out of the objective realities of the earlier period. Neither the internal nor the international situation had yet matured to the point where violent insurrection or direct preparation for armed struggle could realistically be placed on the agenda.

By the 60s the picture was beginning to alter in several respects. In the international field the isolation of South Africa reached a high peak. In Africa itself the imperialist control of the continent was being undermined as one country after another was attaining independence. This had several consequences. For the first time since the colonisation of the continent the prospects of self rule were firing the imagination of the African people throughout Africa, the south included. In the second place, friendly borders were creeping closer to the territories of the beleaguered South with prospects of vital practical aid from the newly emergent states. For the first time in modern Africa successful armed struggles were waged, first in Algeria, then in Guine-Bissau, Angola, and, some years later, Mocambique, as armed national liberation forces challenged and beat back enemies with overwhelming superiority of military and material resources.

On our own front the political ferment which the country had witnessed in the previous decades reflected itself in the increasing militancy of the people. Our large working class had reached new heights of militant expression in the struggles of the 50s. The general strike drew into political action hundreds of thousands of factory workers who risked jobs and security to demonstrate against white supremacy. Mass protests, bus boycotts, anti-pass campaigns followed one upon the other. Deliberate defiance of laws and angry, and sometimes violent, spontaneous retaliation against police brutality were symptoms of the changing mood.

Turning Point

Sharpeville was a turning point, not because the shooting down of unarmed demonstrators was unique in South Africa's history nor because the organisers introduced any new element into the methods of struggle: there had been worse massacres and the organisers of the demonstrations, despite their subsequent claims to have been the innovators of new forms of struggle, had been at pains to direct the protests into explicitly peaceful channels. The PAC leader Sobukwe

The leaflet summoning the All-In African Conference at Maritzburg in 1961 where Nelson Mandela – making his first public appearance after the expiry of his banning order – launched the campaign for a general strike in protest against the new Whites-only Republican constitution due to be introduced on May 31.

wrote to the Chief of Police advising him that he and his followers would present themselves for arrest on March 21st 1960 and expressed the hope that "you will co-operate to make this a most peaceful and disciplined campaign". No, the massacre at Sharpeville was a turning point, not because it devised a new approach but because from that point onwards the white state geared itself for total mobilisation to smash the liberation movement; and from that point onwards a new emphasis had to be given to the revolutionary struggle.

It was not only in the urban areas that the growing revolutionary mood showed itself. In the countryside the 50s had produced impressive evidence that despite centuries of repression the peasantry was not submissive but possessed a capacity for action to the point of armed resistance. In Sekhukhuneland the peasantry, partly armed, doggedly resisted the attempts by the authorities to replace the traditional leaders of the people with government appointed servants, the so-called Bantu Authorities. In Zululand similar resistance was encountered. The peasant struggles of the Pondo people reached great heights: by March 1960 a vast popular movement had arisen; unofficial administrative units were set up, including People's Courts. From the chosen spots in the mountains where thousands of peasants assembled illegally, came the name of the movement – Intaba, the Mountain.

Inevitably a heightened state of political ferment gives rise to unplanned and spontaneous eruptions. These harm the revolutionary process only if they are unconnected with the main stream of struggle or if they come to dominate its course. Many of these eruptions were directly stimulated by the climate prepared by the movement's achievement in stirring larger and larger sections of our people into struggle. The Pondo revolt, for example, was not directly organised by the ANC. It had its origins in local grievances but its aims soon became the attainment of basic political goals enunciated by the movement in general, and the leaders of Intaba came to adopt in essence the full programme of the ANC. The violent clashes which were occurring in the Cape and elsewhere were signs of growing revolutionary militancy. Despite the fact that they were unplanned and spontaneous outbursts, and even exhibited certain negative and harmful features, they expressed the preparedness, courage and patriotism of those who took part in such actions as the stoning of police stations. The SACP recognised that "those acts of desperate retaliation have a positive side although (in themselves) they cannot succeed in their objectives and although they invite heavy reprisals, setbacks and temporary defeats. For, from these defeats the people are drawing the conclusion not that resistance is futile but that it should be planned, purposeful and principled. The leaders of the African liberation movement have not merely taken a negative or critical attitude towards the Poqo-type outbreak. They have acknowledged that exclusively non-violent methods are no longer of use". *(The Revolutionary Way Out:* statement of the Central Committee, March 1963.)

Against the background of these, and many other events, including the outlawing of the liberation organisations and the use of undisguised administrative and physical terror against any militant opposition to white rule, there was a growing disillusionment on the part of the majority of our people with the prospect of achieving their liberation by protest action which did not include armed and offensive activity of one sort or another.

Thus, when the movement in the early 60s began to alter the emphasis of its approach, it was reflecting the radical changes which had come about both in the camp of the enemy and among the people; and these were changes which the movement had itself helped bring about by the calibre of the leadership it provided in the preceding period.

The very success of the tactics of the mass mobilisation which were followed in the earlier period had helped to create the new conditions in which the conflict had now to take place.

The new Programme of the SACP adopted in 1962, whilst opposing undisciplined acts of individual terror and rejecting theories that all non-violent methods of struggle are useless or impossible, states that:

> *"The Communist Party considers that the slogan of 'non-violence' is harmful to the cause of the democratic national revolution in the new phase of the struggle, disarming the people in the face of the savage assaults of the oppressor, dampening their militancy, undermining their confidence in their leaders . . .*
>
> *. . . today they (the people) are left with no alternative but to defend themselves and hit back, to meet violence with violence. The Nationalists are forcing a solution upon South Africa in which*

patriots and democrats will take up arms to defend themselves, organise guerrilla armies and undertake various acts of resistance, culminating in mass insurrection against white domination."

The Enemy Hits Back

The introduction of the armed perspective in the political struggle has far-reaching consequences. It would be a mistake to regard it as just another tactic in routine mass work. Even when it does not pose the question of an immediate nation-wide uprising, it does amount to a qualitative break with the traditional methods of mass political action and mobilisation and it influences directly or indirectly every aspect of political and organisational activity.

The enemy, as was to be expected, responded with unprecedented ferocity in an attempt to destroy those connected with the new policy. The effective carrying out of this policy depended upon a number of factors including the capacity of the movement to maintain and intensify the high level of active militancy amongst the people, to guard and extend its internal organisational structures, and upon the readiness of the outside world and in particular of the emergent nations of Africa to isolate South Africa still further and to give material help and supply the considerable resources necessary to translate some of the projects into reality.

As it turned out the steps taken to safeguard the movement against the enemy's inevitable onslaught proved inadequate. In the international sphere there was a tendency to be over-optimistic and to underestimate the tenacity of external imperialist forces in support of the racialist regime. And on the African continent the period following political independence exposed internal weaknesses and tendencies which were to create unexpected obstacles in the way of the prosecution of our aims.

In the result, in the middle 60s, both the internal and external situation became relatively less favourable for the implementation of previously determined tactics in the unfolding of the struggle. The course which has been charted is a difficult and protracted one. It has had its high points and low points. But the complexities we face ought not to blind us to the fact that as in the early 60s, so now, any policy of struggle which does not include as one of its basic planks the preparation for armed action is wrong and will condemn both the people and the movement to political impotence. Of course, the changes which took place in the immediate post-Rivonia period – more particularly the weakening of the movement's internal organisational position within the country – presented new problems which the liberation movement has worked to overcome. But it remains true that the overthrow of white power in our land can only be achieved by a people's armed struggle: i.e. an armed struggle with mass participation and support. The Central Committee of the SACP in the political statement adopted at the 1966 Plenary Session said:

> *"The correctness and feasibility of this general policy decision were not and are not dependent on the success or failure of any particular scheme or operation. Looked at in broad perspective it remains true that the freedom of our country will have to be wrested in armed struggle and that preparation for such struggle is essential to victory."*

This does not mean that every political action must necessarily be an armed action. It does mean that every political action, whether armed or not, must be regarded as part of the build-up towards a nation-wide confrontation leading to the conquest of power.

Armed Struggle and Political Mobilisation

No overt guerrilla activity has yet taken place in our country. In 1967 and 1968 units of Umkhonto we Sizwe did engage the enemy in Zimbabwe. This is not the place to attempt a balanced assessment of the Wankie, Sipoleli and other campaigns. Suffice it to say that these events were of tremendous historical significance. It was the first time that the military units of Umkhonto we Sizwe engaged the forces of the enemy in armed combat. In this baptism of fire the modern armed pioneers of the liberation movement showed their capacity to engage the enemy and hurt him. The heroism and nobility of those who fought and died, Communists and non-Communists amongst them, have earned them a place of unchallenged honour in the saga of our drive to liberation. Those who emerged from the battles have added immensely to the storehouse of our revolutionary experience in the future battles to come.

Some of the negative experiences of the Zimbabwe campaigns reaffirmed in practice one of the most salient features of popular armed struggle and that is that it is the culmination of a many-sided process involving political reconstruction, mass political leadership in town and country by means of organisation, propaganda, education, agitation etc., and organised armed activity drawing in more and more people as time goes on. As correctly put in the Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress: "When we talk of revolutionary armed struggle we are talking of political struggle by means which include the use of military force". All our activities whether directly military or political are calculated to help bring about a situation in which insurrectionary conditions will mature. The development of these conditions and the point at which they mature depends upon the activities of the liberation movement as only one factor. It also depends on social and economic developments both inside and outside the country over which no single political movement has absolute control.

At what point then, do professional armed groups become active? Here there is a certain dilemma. Experience (the Zimbabwe campaign included) has taught us that without internal organisation, mass mobilisation and mass support, armed activity becomes strangulated. We have correctly rejected the 'pure detonator theory' which is based on the belief that the localised military actions of professional armed cadres automatically generate growing resistance and support from the people. But on the other hand to postpone all armed activity until political mobilisation and organisational reconstruction have reached a level high enough to sustain its more advanced forms, is to undermine the prospects of full political mobilisation itself. Experience of South Africa and other highly organised police states has shown that until the introduction of a new type of action it is questionable whether political mobilisation and organisation can be developed beyond a certain point. Given the disillusionment by the oppressed mass with the old forms of struggle, demonstration of the capacity of the liberation movement to meet and sustain the challenge in a new way is in itself one of the most vital factors in attracting their organised allegiance and support.

Thus we have been taught to avoid two extreme positions – in the *one case* the pure detonator theory and in the *other case* the pure reconstruction theory which implies that no organised armed activity should be undertaken until we have mobilised the people politically and recreated advanced networks of nationwide organisation. *The first* has within it the seeds of a dramatic adventure which could be over before it started. *The second* holds out little prospect for the commencement of armed struggle and the conquest of power in our lifetime.

In our conditions the armed struggle and the political struggle are essentially one and complement one another. They cannot be tackled chronologically and the movement's concrete planning must ensure the necessary balance and blending of both sides of this essentially single struggle. This has meant an intensification of the movement's efforts in the sphere of reconstruction, propaganda and general agitation throughout the country as evidenced by the increasing intensity of internal propaganda drives.

Creating a core of trained professional armed cadres, putting them into the field with adequate logistical support and a minimum amount of contact to enable them to sustain their operations in the initial period, requires independent planning. It cannot be the overnight response to a sudden twist in the political situation. In this sense military planning, as opposed to political planning, has what one might term some mechanical aspects which inevitably involve making certain static assumptions about the future. If operations go smoothly and according to plan the beginnings of action will be the result of a deliberate decision. If not they could be triggered off by the need of the armed group to defend itself against enemy attacks. The exact moment in time therefore when actual armed action occurs will not necessarily always coincide with the most favourable local or even national situation. For this reason it is unrealistic to tie the movement's planning for the commencement of operations in the chosen regions to the probability of the emergency of a special local or national crisis, or to regard it as the culmination in each case of a full programme of propaganda or organising work.

Above all it is necessary to stress once again that the most important task which faces the movement as a whole is the intensification of the level of political mobilisation and mass struggle in every part of the country because in the last resort it will only be against such a background that armed activity can take root and spread. Thus successful armed actions are only one of the factors in the process of helping to bring about conditions in which the whole people move towards the conquest of power.

The Terrain of Armed Activity

In our situation where is the main terrain of armed activity? The ANC's Strategy and Tactics document answers that "the main physical environment (of guerrilla struggle) in the initial period is outside the enemy stronghold in the cities, in the vast stretches of our countryside". The experience of other people's struggles and our own conditions confirm the correctness of this approach.

Armed activity in its initial phases cannot take the form of a head on collision with enemy forces. Militarily there is a vast imbalance between the resources available to the enemy and to the people. The survival of armed groups and their growth therefore demands the use of techniques and tactics which will compensate for this imbalance. Given its popular character and a population which increasingly sides with and shields the armed group whilst at the same time opposing and exposing the enemy, this imbalance can be neutralised by the skilful use of tactics such as surprise, mobility, tactical retreat and other methods which combine to prevent the enemy from bringing into play its superior fire power in any decisive battle. In short, the beginnings of popular armed activity in our type of situation *takes the form of a guerrilla struggle* in which the special tactics employed aim to ensure that no individual battle is fought under circumstances unfavourable to the guerrillas.

In general guerrilla type struggles have in their initial phases taken root in the rural areas. The reason for this is obvious. The guerrilla group is a full-time professional armed unit which pops up now here, now there, and which if it is to survive, has to maintain continuously its cohesion and mobility. The guerrilla group must not be confused with the armed auxiliaries or the part-time combat groups or civilian defence, all of which have an important role to play at various stages of the struggle both in town and countryside. Because of the imbalance of military strength the guerrilla group, in order to survive and maintain its cohesion and mobility, has in general to operate away from the urban complexes in which the enemy is strongest and is most highly organised and centralised. It has to operate in terrain in which the basic population from whom it draws its strength is in the overwhelming majority.

Are there special conditions in South Africa which require us to take another look at the emphasis on the countryside in the opening phases of the guerrilla struggle? Of the colonial and semi-colonial territories in which guerrilla wars have been fought there are none in which the urban working class forms such a significant portion of the oppressed population both numerically and politically as in South Africa. More than this, it is a working class whose political consciousness and whose history of militant struggle places it in the undisputed vanguard position of our democratic revolution. The mass upsurge in the 50s which embraced the country areas had its inspiration in the political ferment which was taking place in the main urban centres. In South African conditions it is therefore unthinkable that the main character of the armed confrontation will be a peasants' war despite the fact that the majority of the oppressed population is on the land either as peasants or as rural proletarians.

If all this is true, should the emphasis not be on urban rather than rural guerrilla struggle right at the outset? We believe not. The important factors mentioned do not alter the reality that in the initial phase organised fulltime guerrilla groups with fire power can only operate successfully in the vast stretches of our countryside. The terrain of armed struggle is chosen for us by objective conditions, only one of which is the political significance of the urban proletariat. This reality explains why in other countries – the Soviet Union, France, Yugoslavia, etc. – where the working class occupied an equal if not greater position of importance in the political correlation of forces, the main terrain of organised guerrilla warfare was outside the urban complexes. The fact that the terrain of guerrilla operations in its early stages is in the countryside does not of course imply that the rural population (whose support must be won if victory is not to evade us) is the most significant revolutionary force.

There are examples of struggles – Ireland, Cyprus, pre-1948 Palestine – in which. an urban type of guerrilla warfare was the predominant form from the start. But in all these cases the military operations against the enemy were directly against an army of occupation stationed in overwhelmingly hostile territory in both town and countryside. Whilst in one sense it is correct to regard the whole oppressing minority in South Africa as a sort of army of occupation, the analogy has limited application. The guerrilla group in Dublin could move and act in its city surrounded by overwhelming support against the uniformed occupiers. In South African cities the main operations would have to take place in terrain in which the overwhelming majority of the white people can be expected to be fanatically hostile to the guerrillas who have to move along enemy determined routes surrounded by his regular forces and his auxiliaries consisting of the whole white population.

This does not mean that there is no place for any form of military activity in the urban centres. In fact, *this is essential even from the start.* The enemy should be continuously harassed in the towns by small combat groups who carry out sabotage and other special actions; groups which obtain supplies and money and which recruit cadres for the guerrilla struggle and organise and encourage civilian resistance to enemy action against the urban population. But this activity is of a special type and although it is in support of the guerrillas, the use of the phrase 'urban guerrilla warfare' to describe it should not serve to place it on a par with guerrilla struggle in the countryside which is the main form of people's military activity in the initial phase of our popular armed struggle.

Political and Military Leadership

Our liberation movement has always rejected the view that once armed struggle is on the agenda there should be a separation between the military and political leaderships, or if there is, that the military leadership should be primary.

Of course the art of military struggle requires the formation of special organs staffed by skilled and talented personnel who devote themselves almost exclusively to the creation of armed groups, coordinate their actions and generally supervise the many-sided implementation of the movement's military perspectives. But everything we have said about the relationship between the military and political struggle demands that at all stages the political organisation should remain supreme. It is of course true that once in the field the tactical tasks of the guerrilla band can only be advanced effectively by those engaged in actual fighting, and no group of leaders sitting outside of the situation can hope to provide successful day to day leadership. But it is equally true that the overall conduct of revolutionary strategy cannot be carried out effectively by the isolated armed band. The complex and challenging art of revolution and the determination of its tactical and strategic tasks from time to time requires a political leadership which not only provides the broad guidelines for the conduct of the military struggle itself, but relates it to the overriding task of the political mobilisation of the people as a whole, the never-ceasing interplay and positioning of class forces both nationally and internationally, the interaction of objective and subjective factors and so on. This remains true even when the armed struggle becomes the predominant form.

The army must at all stages remain the instrument of the political movement and any tendency to the contrary will introduce all the unhealthy features of militarism. An armed struggle which is not "ennobled by the enlightened and organising influence" of the correct type of political leadership "becomes frayed, corrupted and prostituted". (Lenin). The revolutionary armed struggle is no more and no less than a political struggle by means which include the use of military force, and the victory for which we are striving has as its aim the conquest of power by the people led by its political vanguard and not by an army. Of course, as the armed struggle begins to play a more and more important part in our overall strategy, the main task of the whole political leadership centres more and more on the successful implementation of military objectives. But at all stages it remains a political leadership answerable to the political organisation which is primary, and not to the army, which is its instrument.

The unavoidable and necessary separation between the military and political organs creates special problems which must be solved and tendencies against which we must continuously guard.

The Domino Theory

Our struggle is a direct and integral part of the struggle going on in all the unliberated territories in Africa and is also bound up with the overall struggle against imperialist domination on our continent. South Africa has been embraced by Western imperialism as a bastion against the spread of true independence and as one of the chief instruments of imperialist dominated diplomacy in many parts of Africa. Whether it be through direct military presence (as in Zimbabwe), close military and financial collaboration (as in Angola and Mocambique), direct economic and political domination (as in some of the former High Commission territories), or indirect erosion of the national integrity of some independent territories by various financial and economic devices (as in Malawi), it is clear that the minority regimes in Southern Africa have come to regard the survival of foreign rule generally and, in particular, white rule in the South, as indivisible.

Every pronouncement on the question by representatives of our own racialist regime makes clear that South Africa regards its immediate strategic borders as extending to the northern-most points of Angola, Mocambique and Rhodesia.

Against this background it is clear that an important strategic connection exists between the efforts of the guerrilla forces in every part of occupied Southern Africa and effective progress on the people's front is closely bound up with increasing collaboration between all the liberation organisations in the area.

The strength of the enemy in alliance with its foreign supporters has from time to time encouraged the suggestion that the liberation of Southern Africa should be approached as a project to be achieved in geographic stages – the so called domino theory. First Mocambique, so the argument runs, then Angola, then Rhodesia and then South Africa. Such proposals, however well motivated, would in fact play into the hands of the common enemy. Nothing would suit him better than to be able to concentrate his superior material and military resources in a single area undiverted by a need to defend his rear.

Such an approach stands in basic contradiction to the fundamental tenet of popular armed struggle that the enemy must be stretched and deprived of opportunities to mobilise his superior material resources in a restricted area.

It is in any case doubtful whether the character of popular armed struggle makes it feasible for any forces other than indigenous ones to make a meaningful direct contribution to the struggle in given areas. Amongst the disadvantages which faced those units of Umkhonto we Sizwe which were engaged by the enemy in Zimbabwe was the need to operate in unfamiliar geographic, cultural and social surroundings even though the ethnic and linguistic connection between sections of our people and those in Zimbabwe are historically closer than with the Portuguese territories. On the other hand the enemy which cannot and does not rely on local popular support can by the nature of the tactics which he is forced to employ, concentrate and deploy his forces outside his own territory with greater effectiveness.

There can be little doubt, and Rhodesia has already demonstrated this, that when Portuguese rule in Angola and Mocambique reaches a point of crisis, Caetano's friends in South Africa will be only too ready to intervene on a massive scale. South African government leaders have said as much. Mr T. A. J. Gerdener, the Administrator of Natal, on the occasion of the establishment of the Mocambique Soldiers' Comforts Fund said that to fob off terrorism as the actions of a few thousand disorganised and ill-trained insurgents was dangerous and irresponsible and that it was time South Africa realised that if the 80,000 soldiers whom Portugal had in Mocambique and Angola had to be withdrawn tomorrow, South Africa would become involved in the "terrorist war" within weeks. He said further that South Africa would have the fullest justification "to extend its Rhodesian front against terrorists to the two Portuguese territories".

The capacity of the enemy to extend the fight and commit their forces on a large scale to any of the other territories and even their capacity to render assistance short of Rhodesian type direct intervention will ultimately depend upon events within South Africa and in particular on the extent to which the South African revolutionary forces take root and threaten internal stability. To adopt the stage by stage approach would present the enemy with an inestimable advantage which, for reasons already given, would not be compensated for by an artificial "internationalisation" of the national struggle in so-called "priority" areas. Every part of the unliberated South is a priority area and victory will be assured when the common enemy is stretched in meaningful combat over all parts of the sub-continent. As stated in the resolution adopted by the 1970 Augmented Meeting of the Central Committee of the SACP:

> *"The common enemy of the liberation of the African people of the sub-continent is Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mocambique, white minority rule in Zimbabwe, above all the apartheid exploitation systems of South Africa and Namibia, which together constitute a unified base of white-controlled domination and exploitation and, simultaneously, imperialism's strongest base in Africa.*
>
> *"This system of race exploitation will be defeated by the assaults of the revolutionary struggle by the peoples of these countries spearheaded by the guerrilla armies of ANC, ZAPU, SWAPO, MPLA*

and FRELIMO, operating each in their own specific conditions in their own countries, and forging close fraternal links and collaboration between the different fighting movements."

The 10th Anniversary of the establishment of Umkhonto we Sizwe – the armed wing of the liberation movement – is an important milestone in the history of our people. It is a time not only for tribute to those who have already fallen but for rededication to the unfinished tasks of the South African revolution whose victory will have significance not only for the South African people but for the whole African continent and the world struggle against imperialism.

50 YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY – 4

APARTHEID, RESISTANCE & ARMED STRUGGLE

by A. Lerumo

Apartheid and anti-Communism were the two main slogans with which Malan's Nationalist Party won the general election of 1948 against Smuts's United Party. The open Nazi preaching of the war years was, with Hitler's defeat, muted; the Greyshirts, Blackshirts and Ossewa Brandwag merged themselves with the Nationalists or the allied Afrikaner Party of Mr Havenga.

To the voters the meaning of 'apartheid' (literally, 'separateness') was clear enough. The degradation of the majority of the population and White supremacy – already entrenched and fortified by every Union government since 1910 – were to be tightened up and extended in every field of South African life, economic, social and political.

Essentially this programme was a continuation of the policies pursued by the Smuts government and its predecessors. But it was pursued with lunatic thoroughness and disregard for humanity and its opinions unparalleled since the heyday ot Hitler Germany.

Under the successive regimes of Malan (1948), Strijdom (1954), Verwoerd (1958) and Vorster (1966) a mountainous burden of oppressive and discriminatory legislation was piled upon the shoulders of the already overburdened African, Coloured and Indian people.

Pass laws were made even more stringent and extended to African women.

'Non-whites' were herded like cattle into ghettoes ('group areas'), 'Bantu homelands', 'resettlement areas' and farm prisons.

The vestigial franchise rights of African and Coloured men in the Cape Province were abolished.

Measures of this kind were accompanied by an endless succession of measures to suppress the rising tide of resistance and opposition which they evoked; to destroy what freedom of speech and organisation existed; to transform South Africa, step by step, into a fascist police state, ruled by lawless terror.

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the cornerstone of the edifice of repression, was extended at successive sessions of parliament and amended to eliminate 'loopholes' and deprive its victims of such protection as might be obtained from the all-white judiciary. Scores of 'listed Communists' were removed by Ministerial edict from their membership and their elected positions in trade unions, the Congresses and other mass organisations, and debarred from public activities. Even the Communist Party's sole MP, Sam Kahn, was expelled from Parliament. The African voters of the Western Cape, thus deprived of their representative, responded by electing another Communist, Brian Bunting, to replace him, and when he was in turn removed, yet a third, trade union leader Ray Alexander, was elected. But she was not even allowed to take her seat in Parliament.

The Guardian, the fighting democratic weekly, was suppressed. Its resourceful staff, including such outstanding Communist journalists as Brian Bunting, Lionel Forman, Govan Mbeki, Ruth First and M.P. Naicker, continued their work by producing *Advance, New Age* and eventually *Spark* as each succeeding journal was banned.

The Suppression of Communism Act was followed by a whole series of repressive laws – such as the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Public Safety Act, Sabotage Act and Terrorism Act – coupled with an unparalleled increase in the machinery of dictatorship – the army and the police – placing virtually unlimited powers in the hands of the state to detain, torture and murder political opponents and place the entire country under a permanent state of 'emergency' and martial law.

The People Fight Back

The progress of South African fascism in the fifties was marked by two sharply-contrasting phenomena. On the one hand, the capitalist opposition virtually surrendered. The United Party, headed after Smuts's death by J. G. N. Strauss and Sir de Villiers Graaff, hastily doffed the 'liberal' garb it had assumed during the second world war. It descended to the basest depths of betrayal of democratic principle, servilely supporting the Nationalist Party's fascist legislation and competing with them in revolting displays of anti-African incitement. By and large these two parties were supported by the great majority of the white electorate of all classes. The Labour Party, deserted by the white workers, failed to survive the general election of 1958 when its remaining three MPs led by Alex Hepple were defeated. It vanished without a trace, the result of fifty years' flabby opportunism and pandering to racialism, which the gallant defence of African rights by the three last parliamentarians came too late to redeem.

On the other hand, outside the parliamentary arena, the real struggle of the masses of the people rose to unprecedented heights of unity, militancy and mass effectiveness. The tireless work during the forties of Communists and other revolutionaries, for the building and uniting of the national liberation and working class movements in action, bore fruit. The united front of national liberation, preached by the Communist Party, the Non-European United Front, the National Liberation League and others took shape as the ANC and the Indian Congress, under increasingly progressive and clear-sighted leadership, took steps to consolidate their ranks and move into action.

The Transvaal May Day strike of 1950 (organised jointly by the provincial organisations of the ANC, the Indian Congress, the African People's Organisation, the Council of Non-European Trade Unions and the Communist Party) was followed by the first of the famous June 26 actions initiated by the African National Congress on our Freedom Day. An effective general strike was observed throughout the country.

In 1952, again on June 26, the African and Indian Congresses launched the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws, in which 8,500 disciplined volunteers systematically flouted various apartheid measures and suffered imprisonment. Though this campaign borrowed techniques from Gandhi's campaigns it was by no means based on the 'satyagraha' ideology as Professor Kuper (*Passive Resistance in South Africa*) and others have concluded. Nor was it meant to 'fill the jails' and make the system unworkable. It was designed, successfully, to break with the tradition of fruitless deputations, petitions and protest-meetings; to inculcate discipline, readiness to sacrifice and organisation for action, and train cadres for future struggles. The Defiance Campaign marked the transition of the ANC from a loosely-knit body to an effective organisation in which men of action counted for more than orators, in which workers of town and country, and young men and women, played an increasingly preponderant role. The temper of the 'new Congress' found a warm answering chord among the masses, who surged to the ANC in support and membership. The leadership was correspondingly strengthened. Dr Moroka, who had succumbed to the pressure of the state to 'dissociate himself' from 'Communism' during the trial of Congress leaders which followed the campaign, lost his position as Congress President at the next annual conference. He was replaced by a man who was to become the symbol of African courage, militancy and resistance until his death in 1967, Chief Albert John Lutuli. The Indian Congress, likewise, greatly consolidated its ranks around Dr Naicker in Natal, Yusuf Dadoo in the Transvaal, and their militant colleagues.

The defiance campaign stimulated the growth of new democratic movements among minority sections of the population. The African People's Organisation was succeeded by the Coloured People's Organisation (later, Coloured People's Congress) under the presidency of James la Guma. A meeting of white Congress supporters was convened by the ANC and addressed by O. R. Tambo, after which it was decided to establish the Congress of Democrats, unconditionally committed to uphold the Congress policy of equal votes, rights and opportunities for all.

It was these four organisations which joined forces to call the Congress of the People (June 26, 1955) which met at Kliptown, near Johannesburg after 18 months of intensive preparation. Throughout the period, in the face of incessant police interference and victimisation, thousands of public meetings were held in towns, dorps and farms, in factories, compounds and even prison cells. They met to elect delegates and to formulate their demands for the future of South Africa.

The Freedom Charter

These demands, collected, classified and formulated in stirring words are incorporated in the historic Freedom Charter, one of the great documents of human liberation, adopted by over 3,000 delegates. Although the Congress of the People was invaded by hundreds of armed police who searched and interrogated each delegate, the great open-air gathering went on with its work, adopting each clause unanimously with the singing of the anthem, *Nkosi Sikalel' iAfrika*, and other patriotic songs.

The Freedom Charter, in the words of Nelson Mandela, is 'a beacon to the Congress movement and an inspiration to the people of South Africa'. For the first time all the major democratic forces in the country found a common programme, for the Charter was endorsed by national conferences of the SA Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats. It was endorsed by the SA Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and in the Programme of the South African Communist Party.

Essentially, the South African Freedom Charter stems from the tradition of the proclamations of rights of the French and American revolutions and echoed in the UN Declaration of Human Rights. It demands rights which are honoured – at least in theory – in almost every country: an equal say for all in the process of making and administering laws, equal access to education, culture, and economic opportunities for all men and women, regardless of race or colour. (If the Charter goes further in some directions – such as its demands for the redivision of the land among those who work it, and the nationalisation of mineral wealth and monopoly-owned industry, this is clearly attributable to the historical realities of a country where the white minority has forcibly appropriated nearly all the country's land and assets, rather than adherence to socialist doctrine on the part of all those who made and support the Charter.)

Yet, in Mandela's words, the Freedom Charter is 'a revolutionary document precisely because the changes it envisages cannot be won without breaking up the economic and political set-up of present South Africa'. It was for this reason that the ruling classes of South Africa regarded the Charter as 'High Treason'. That was the charge levelled by the state when, the following year, 156 men and women, who had participated in or supported the Congress of the People, African, Coloured, Indian and White, headed by Chief A. J. Lutuli were arrested in all main areas of the country and flown to Johannesburg in military aircraft to face trial.

The news of the trial aroused tremendous anger and indignation among the freedom-loving people of South Africa and their innumerable friends the world over. Bearing banners and placards – 'We Stand By Our Leaders' – thousands of Congress supporters gathered around the Johannesburg Drill Hall when the trial opened, to be dispersed by police baton charges and gunfire. The trial also evoked passionate interest and support among broad democratic circles abroad.

The prosecution – headed until his death by the Nazi ex-Minister of Justice Pirow – set out to prove that the Freedom Charter was a blueprint for a 'Communist state', to be attained by force and violence. These contentions were torn to shreds by a brilliant team of defence lawyers, including Bram Fischer, and by the accused themselves, whose ranks included such able legal men as Duma Nokwe, Joe Slovo, Nelson Mandela, O. R. Tambo and J. Matthews.

The preparatory examination and trial lasted from December 1956 until March 1961, when all the accused were found not guilty and discharged. But by that time the Nationalist Party had turned the country into an armed camp.

Hardly one of the treason trial accused escaped punishment in the sixties. Some were placed under house-arrest and other restrictions. Many were jailed for life and other long-term sentences. Others were forced into exile from the country. Many were detained and tortured, some murdered.

Stirring Struggles

The years of the treason trial were filled with stirring struggles of the South African people, which it is impossible here more than briefly and incompletely to catalogue.

There were historic *bus boycotts* in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, Evaton, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and elsewhere where tens of thousands of people acted in solidarity.

African women carried on a stubborn and militant struggle against the extension of the pass laws to them. Following the great demonstration of August 1956 in which 20,000 women converged on the Union Buildings in Pretoria, the ANC Women's League and the non-racial Federation of South African Women led militant protests, not only in Johannesburg and Durban, where thousands were arrested, but in many country areas of the Transvaal, Orange Free State, Cape and Natal, such as Lichtenburg, Standerton, Balfour, Zeerust, as the government implemented its policy of issuing women's passes piecemeal, beginning in the rural areas. Thousands of women were arrested and sentenced for destroying their passes.

Faced with rising living costs, though all strikes of Africans were and remain illegal, numerous strikes in fact took place for higher wages, followed by mass arrests and imprisonments. A sharp cleavage took place in the labour movement when the bureaucracy dominating the former Trades and Labour Council called a special conference (1956) to dissolve that organisation. With all its failings, the TLC constitution, framed by Andrews and others in the twenties, provided for the affiliation of workers of all national groups, including Africans; the leadership wanted to replace the TLC with a new body (the Trade Union Council of South Africa) which would exclude Africans–the majority of the working class.

Although the left wing within the trade union movement had been crippled by the banning and proscription of scores of experienced militants under the Suppression of Communism Act, progressives within the TLC fought bitterly against its dissolution. Defeated on a card vote they nevertheless, for the most part, refused to join the colour-bar TUCSA; instead they joined forces with the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions to establish the SA Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) which held its first national conference in March 1956.

SACTU rapidly proved itself to be by far the most advanced industrial movement the South African workers have ever produced. Rejecting the treacherous slogan 'No politics in the trade unions' it boldly tackled the great main problems – the industrial colour bar, the pass laws, the absence of political and civil rights – of the mass of workers, as well as demands for better wages and conditions. It adopted the Freedom Charter and associated itself in the Congress Alliance. It launched a major campaign, around the demand for a national minimum wage of £1 a day, for the organisation of the mass of unorganised workers in town and country. Its leading organs – unlike those of the former TLC – reflected the composition of the working class of our country, including, as well as White, Coloured and Indian workers, African trade unionists such as Leslie Massina,

J. Gaetsewe, and M.W. Shope (successively general secretary) and S. Dhlamini (national president).

The later fifties, the years of the treason trial, also saw an unprecedented rise in the tempo and militancy of the people's struggle in the *rural areas.*

As early as 1950 violent clashes had broken out in *Witzieshoek,* a reserve on the northern border of Lesotho between the peasants, demanding more land, and armed police, in which many Africans lost their lives. In 1958 massive unrest struggles erupted in *Zeerust,* following the women's destruction of pass books at Linokana, Gopane, Witkleigat and Motsoedi, and the deportation of a patriotic chief. The people set up their own courts, and tried and executed four pro-government quislings. Massive state reprisals followed.

In May of the same year the people of *Sekhukhuniland* revolted against the imposition of 'Bantu authorities' as a first step towards the creation of a 'Bantustan'. Similar battles were fought in Zululand, Tembuland and Pondoland. The setting up of people's courts and the sentencing of traitors initiated in Zeerust was emulated in Tembuland and Zululand. The white state suppressed these risings ferociously, many peasant leaders being deported, sentenced to long prison terms and their homes burnt down. In Sekhukhuniland sixteen peasants, including a women, were sentenced to death and executed.

Writing in this journal (No. 11, 1962) L. Legwa wrote:

> *'Particularly bitter struggles took place in* Pondoland, *a portion of the Transkei which retained independence until 1894 when the British government forced its annexation to the Cape by coercion and fraud . . . The whole district of Bizana fell into the hands of the* mountain men *– the freedom fighters. They set up people's courts and levied taxes on black and white in the area.*
>
> *The government resorted to extensive military actions. A state of emergency – which has still not been lifted – was declared over the whole area of the Transkeian Territory. More than 5,000 peasant leaders were arrested and detained. Hundreds were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Thirty-two leaders were sentenced to death . . .'*

In addition to these major struggles, innumerable campaigns were carried out in various fields. A successful potato boycott (in protest against slave conditions on potato farms); a boycott of nationalist firms – later to be echoed on an international scale – vigorous action against the 'Western areas removal scheme' which destroyed whole African living areas in Johannesburg – all these and many other activities made up the pattern of political life in the fifties as reflected in the columns of *The Guardian* and its successors, analysed and evaluated in such periodicals as *Fighting Talk* and *Liberation*, the product of Communist and non-Communist revolutionary journalists working in close collaboration.

Party Organisation

Right up to its illegalisation in June 1950 the Communist Party had participated in united front activities, such as the May Day and June 26 strikes of that year, not only through the work of its members in the fraternal mass organisations, but also by its direct formal association in the united front. Immediately after dissolution the seasoned core of Marxist-Leninists came together to discuss the future in the light of South African realities. Two conflicting minority tendencies manifested themselves. The first maintained that Communists should confine themselves exclusively to work in mass liberation and labour organisations whose activities were legally tolerated, abandoning any attempt to build a Marxist-Leninist Party in the circumstances. The second proposed that the Communists should withdraw from all public activity in order to rebuild the Party 'underground'.

The majority firmly rejected both of these incorrect views. An independent Marxist-Leninist party was essential, both to fulfil its long-term mission of winning a socialist South Africa based on workers' power, and also to ensure the success of the immediate fight for national liberation and democracy. Hence it was essential for the Communists, as part of an organised collective body, both to participate actively in the public, legal mass movement, and to combine this with persistent planned illegal work to rebuild and strengthen the Party as the vanguard of the most advanced class, the working class.

Accordingly, a provisional centre set to work to accomplish these twin, and related objectives. Through methodical, through necessarily cautious, work party cells and district committees were established in the main centres of the country enabling a national conference to be held in 1953 which adopted a programme and rules and adopted the name, the South African Communist Party. Its purpose was 'to carry forward and raise still higher the banner of the Communist movement under the new and testing conditions of illegality'. Its task was that of 'combining legal mass work with the illegal work of building the Marxist-Leninist Party'. While distinguishing itself in its name and approach from the former CPSA which 'despite its great achievements and struggles . . . proved incapable of surviving under illegal conditions', the reborn Party declared itself 'the heir to the tradition created by the CPSA . . . of unflinching struggle against oppression and exploitation, for unity of the workers and freedom-loving people of our country, irrespective of race and colour'. (Quotations from *The Road to South African Freedom,* 1962.)

The correctness of the Party's approach was confirmed by life. In all the great struggles of the fifties, in town and country, in the liberation movements and the trade unions, Communists stood ever among the foremost in their dedication, loyalty and courage, in their clear-headed determination to build unity of Communists and non-Communists, of men and women of all national groups, in the common struggle against white domination and for a free South Africa. In the Defiance Campaign as in all the epic movements of the times, well-known Communists like Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo and J. B. Marks were among the first to volunteer, side by side with other national leaders such as Chief Lutuli, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.

In his writings of the time, such as *South Africa's Way Forward* (1956) Kotane, like other Party publicists, gave invaluable theoretical and practical leadership to the working class and the entire liberation movement.

As Bram Fischer pointed out in his great address to the court while on trial for his life (28 March 1966) he realised "as I became more and more deeply involved with the Congress Movement of those years, that is, the movement for freedom and equal human rights for all, that it was always members of the Communist Party who seemed prepared, regardless of cost, to sacrifice most; to give of their best; to face the greatest dangers, in the struggle against poverty and discrimination".

There is no doubt that the exemplary and self-sacrificing work of the members of the Communist Party and its members, whether at leadership or rank-and-file level, contributed immensely to break down long-standing prejudices and misunderstandings which had plagued the national liberation movement. Among the older leaders, many with a strong religious background, and among the revolutionary ANC Youth Leaguers who considered Communism was somehow a 'foreign ideology', misgivings and misconceptions were overcome by their work side-by-side with Communists who proved themselves in practice the most fearless, loyal and clearheaded fighters for freedom. In the course of struggle a deep and unbreakable comradeship was forged between Communists and non-Communists.

The Sixties – and Armed Struggle

By the end of the fifties it was plain that a showdown was impending between the fascist rulers of South Africa and the oppressed people. The great series of militant non-violent struggles, general strikes and boycotts had succeeded in arousing the people and mobilising them behind the Congress banner as never before. But neither these campaigns nor the ever-mounting world chorus of condemnation of apartheid had succeeded in wringing a single concession from the Nationalist Party government, which merely reacted by redoubling its methods and machinery of terror. It became increasingly clear to the masses and their leaders that new methods, a new approach, was needed in the fight against the colonialist-fascist regime. The way was foreshadowed by the violent struggles of the rural people, especially in Pondoland, unarmed or ill-armed as they were.

The new phase of the struggle was precipitated by an unexpected and tragic event – the massacre at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960.

As in every developed country various splits and divisions existed within the ranks of the oppressed and exploited people. Various "left" or "right" factions split away from the main body of the liberation movements arising from petit-bourgeois confusion or outside intrigues. For example in the Cape, especially among Coloured intellectuals, a body styling itself the 'Non-European Unity Movement', largely under Trotskyite influence had a long and malodorous record of sabotaging, under ultra-revolutionary slogans, every struggle launched by the Congress movement or the Communist Party. Several right-wing splinter movements had begun in the ANC invariably under the slogans of anti-Communism and alleged Indian or European influence in the ANC.

In the late fifties a new group of this type made its appearance in the ANC. Calling themselves 'Africanists' they launched a campaign of vicious calumny against the Lutuli-Sisulu leadership and the Freedom Charter. At the end of 1959 the Africanists, having failed dismally to gain support within the ANC, broke away to form their own organisation, the 'Pan-Africanist Congress'.

Little more might have been heard of this body had it not been for the grim incidents of the following March. Learning that the ANC had decided to launch a fresh major offensive against the pass laws at the end of that month, the PAC adventurously called its own 'anti-pass campaign' a week earlier. Africans were summoned to go to local police stations on that day and deliver up their passes in 'a non-violent way'. For the most part, the call fell on deaf ears, the African workers awaiting a call from their recognised and tested leaders. But in two areas, Sharpeville in the Transvaal and Langa in the Cape – in both of which ANC organisation was weak – crowds of Africans did peacefully assemble at the police stations. The reaction of the police shocked South Africa and the world, exposing the police state in all its naked brutality. They opened fire with sten guns mounted on trucks, shooting the fleeing crowds in their backs, killing and wounding people indiscriminately.

The reaction was angry and immediate. Responding to the call of President Lutuli, Africans throughout the country staged a highly-effective one day strike, and thousands followed his example by burning their passes. Africans in Cape Town came out on strike for more than two weeks.

The government declared war on the people. A state of emergency was proclaimed. At least twenty thousand young Africans were indiscriminately arrested and a further two thousand 'politicals' – men and women of all national groups known or thought to be active in the ANC and other democratic organisations – arrested and detained for months without trial. The African National Congress (and for good measure the PAC as well) were declared illegal organisations.

It was this crisis, coming on top of all the previous acts of repression, which convinced both the masses of oppressed people and their leaders that the days when resistance could be confined to 'non-violent' and 'legal' methods had gone forever. The ANC, despite the loss of so many of its leaders and cadres, functioned throughout the emergency. The Communist Party – which had already illegally, in October 1959, produced the first issue of this journal, *The African Communist,* in Johannesburg – came out with its first illegal leaflets for mass distribution in all the main industrial regions of the country.

The leaders of the liberation movement and the Communist Party – both those in detention and those who had evaded the police net and were living in hiding – came to the same conclusion – that it was necessary to abandon 'non-violence' as the sole means of struggle, and to begin preparations to meet state violence and terror with retaliatory violence.

These conclusions were strengthened by the temper of the masses as the historic 'all-in' African conference held in Maritzburg under the leadership of Nelson Mandela in March 1961 protested against the so-called 'referendum' of white voters under which South Africa was to be declared a 'Republic'. The conference called for a National Convention to decide on a new constitution for South Africa, failing which a general strike would be called to co-incide with the declaration of the Republic on 31 May 1961. In the event, the Republican 'celebrations' were overshadowed by the placing of the country on a war basis to smash the strike. Despite all these repressive measures – and the treacherous scabbing activities of such bodies as the PAC and the Trotskyites – tens of thousands of workers responded to the strike call throughout the country. It was the last peaceful general strike call issued by the liberation movement. During the years 1951-1961 the working class of South Africa had, time and again, shown its magnificent solidarity and spirit in a whole series of political strikes – without strike funds and facing grave risks of victimisation. These strikes had been of immense value and importance. But the time had come for new tactics and methods.

Umkhonto we Sizwe

16 December 1961 saw the first appearance of these new methods when – backed by the African National Congress and the Communist Party – a new organisation made its appearance on South African soil:

Umkhonto we Sizwe, Spear of the Nation. It announced its existence not only in words but also in deeds – a series of sabotage explosions in all parts of the country.

The explosions were accompanied by a manifesto declaring that in the situation of terror existing in the country the masses could no longer rely on peaceful methods of struggle but would hit back with every means in their power.

Umkhonto we Sizwe's sabotage operations were never intended as an end in themselves but as a stage towards the building of a people's army of liberation in South Africa. They served notice of the end of an era of militant, but non-violent struggles alone; the opening shots in what will undoubtedly prove a long and bitter, but certainly in the end victorious, war of liberation.

The path of armed resistance and struggle was one not lightly or easily taken by the South African people's liberation movements and their Communist Party. For many years they had striven by every possible means, with indomitable courage, patience and persistence to achieve a non-violent transition to people's power. Civil war has been forced upon our country by the racial arrogance, greed and ruthlessness of the colonialist ruling class.

The 1962 Programme

The general line and direction of Party policy was fully confirmed by the membership at the fifth national conference held illegally in Johannesburg in 1962.

The Conference also performed an enormous service to the working class and oppressed people of our country by adopting the new Party Programme – *The Road to South African Freedom.* The conference had been preceded by an intensive discussion in every unit and among non-Party circles of revolutionary workers of a draft to which hundreds of amendments were submitted, considered and in many cases incorporated.

In its final shape, the Programme reaffirmed its adherence to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, which were briefly described and summarised (an essential need in a country where the dissemination of Marxist ideas had been prohibited for over a decade).

It proceeded to give a clear Marxist analysis of the character of South African society – a special type of colonialism 'in which the oppressing White nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed people themselves and lived side by side with them'. Hence:

> *As its immediate and foremost task, the South African Communist Party works for a united front of national liberation. It strives to unite all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution to destroy White domination. The main content of this Revolution will be the national liberation of the African people. Carried to its fulfilment, this revolution will at the same time put an end to every sort of race discrimination and privilege. The revolution will restore the land and the wealth of the country to the people, and guarantee democracy, freedom and equality of rights, and opportunities to all. The Communist Party has no interests separate from those of the working people. The Communists are sons and daughters of the people, and share with them the over-riding necessity to put an end to the suffering and humiliation of apartheid. The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party: the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundation of a classless, communist society.*

The 1962 Programme marked a major advance in the theoretical development of the South African Communist Party, and indeed – as in its section on 'The African Revolution' – made a significant contribution to the development of Marxist thought throughout the continent.

This was continued and greatly amplified by the party's journal, *The African Communist,* which for more than a decade now has helped to spread the enlightening ideas of Marxism-Leninism in Africa and among Africans and other interested thinkers in every part of the world.

Heavy Blows

A whole series of heavy blows was sustained by the Communist Party and the entire liberation movement during the first half of the sixties, at the hands of the fascist government and its secret police, modelled on the Gestapo.

The government was determined to smash every vestige of the valiant resisters who had so skilfully utilised every possibility of legal protest in the past decade. All the journalists who had produced *The Guardian* and its successors down the years, as well as *Fighting Talk, Liberation* and other democratic journals were served with ministerial notices preventing them from engaging in any sort of journalistic activity.

Many leading cadres were placed under house-arrest. Intensive efforts were made to infiltrate police spies and provocateurs into the ranks of the movement. A very substantial addition was made to the funds and activities of the special branch of the police.

Counter-measures were taken by the liberation movement. A number of leading members, including O. R. Tambo, M. M. Kotane, J. B. Marks and Y. M. Dadoo, were sent out of the country to conduct various aspects of the work of the movement in exile; numbers of young militants were recruited and sent abroad for combat training as guerillas of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Following the example of Nelson Mandela a number of leaders of the Party and the Congress organisations were directed to leave their homes and assume new identities and disguises. Secret headquarters were set up at a farm in Rivonia, near Johannesburg and elsewhere.

Due to inexperience and to some extent underestimation of the enemy, many of these measures proved inadequate. Following a successful tour of Africa and elsewhere on behalf of the ANC Mandela returned to his underground work. The Rivonia raid resulted in the capture, trial and life imprisonment of many of our country's finest revolutionaries. The torture of scores of comrades in detention, though most held their ground with supreme fortitude, led to some breakdowns in security and even in some cases to defections. These, and the penetration of a police agent into a Party cell led to further arrests and trials including that of Bram Fischer and other comrades, of Wilton Mkwayi, Dave Kitson, Steven Dhlamini and others too numerous to mention. The patriots Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba were executed in November 1964. Looksmart Ngudle, Babla Saloojee, Caleb Mayekiso, Alpheus Maliba are but a few of the many Congressites, Trade Unionists, Communists and others who have died in police cells under torture or alleged to have taken their own lives. It is well-nigh impossible to enumerate all the brave sons and daughters of Africa who have been killed, imprisoned, deported to remote areas, and otherwise victimised by the fascists, for fighting for the freedom of their country and their people.

All sections of the liberation and trade union movements suffered severely in this ruthless onslaught; none more so than the Communist Party.

The vitality of the movement and the Party is shown by the fact that they have been able to recover from these heavy blows, regroup their forces, enrol fresh recruits and make new political and organisaational advances.

Already in Zimbabwe the first clashes between the combined Rhodesian-South African colonialist forces and the African guerillas, including Umkhonto we Sizwe contingents, demonstrated that our people have produced the nucleus of a skilled and courageous liberation army, capable of leading the way in the armed revolution for national liberation.

The augmented Central Committee meeting of July 1970, on the eve of the Party's fiftieth anniversary, marked yet another milestone in the development of the South African Communist Party. Reaffirming the Party's fundamental policy of unity with the African National Congress in the democratic revolution, it emphasised, too, the indispensable contribution of the building of the Party as the independent Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class. The Central Committee was instructed to concentrate on the reconstruction of the Party in South Africa.

An inspiring proof that this injunction was indeed observed was the production and distribution within the country of the first issue of the Party's underground newspaper *Inkululeko – Freedom,* devoted to the 50th Anniversary.

Together with many instances of rising political clarity, boldness and readiness for action among the African, Coloured and Indian people, these developments portend bright prospects for the seventies, for big victories for the workers and oppressed people in their onward march to freedom, people's power and a better life.

With them always, as over the past fifty years, marching in the front ranks, will be the steeled, heroic party of the workers, the South African Communist Party.

[This is the final article in this series. Revised and expanded, with an historical introduction, the series will shortly appear in book form under the title *Fifty Fighting Years.*]

WHY I JOINED THE COMMUNIST PARTY

by Arnold Adams

Many things pass through my mind when I try to pin-point all the events and circumstances which brought me into the ranks of the world's communists, in particular into the party of our own country South Africa. Perhaps I was influenced within the circle of our family – certainly that had something to do with it. On the other hand there were independent experiences which made me as an individual more and more aware of the necessity to change the face of our country.

I was born in District Six, that area of Cape Town into which crammed thousands of families of the Coloured working class. Its slums stretched from the slopes of Table Mountain to the sea where the sewers belched their vomit into the Atlantic and where we as children splashed in the foul water during the hot summer holidays. It was the cheapest outing for the poor, picnicking on Woodstock Beach, a stone's throw from the municipal dumping ground and the outlets of the sewerage system. Everybody came down out of the hot, grey streets, the blistering tenements, the foul alleyways.

My first recollection of life seems to have been an alleyway. It faced the front window of our house and it was always piled with overflowing dustbins that left most of their contents behind in pools of stagnant water, so that we breathed a horrible odour of decay all the time.

My mother worked in a cigarette factory and my father was a trade union organiser. I was cared for during the day by my grandmother who looked like a mahogany version of Queen Victoria. I seldom saw my father – he was always at what was described to me as "meetings". Most of the family income came from my mother. Then my father started organising tobacco workers in Cape Town and my mother was fired for being his wife. Those were hard times, I remember. There was an old grocer in the district who used to give us parcels of provisions because he sympathised with the working-class movement.

I was about six years old when my father went to prison for leading demonstrations of unemployed. I remember going to meet him when he was released ten days later. I could not recognise him at first because he had grown a beard during that time.

One day my mother took me to the circus. It was an incredibly exciting prospect, seeing the animals in their cages as we made our way towards the big-top, the coloured flags, the balloons, the gay, noisy music beating on eardrums. But once inside the vast tent I had a peculiar experience. I discovered that I had no idea what most of the performers in the ring were doing because they had their backs to me all the time. When I asked my mother why this was so, she had to explain to me that we were in the seats for "Non-Europeans" and that the White people were given the best view of the performances.

I never went to a circus again in South Africa. The next time I ever attended a circus performance was when I was a man of forty-three years and went to see a show in Moscow. I could see everything the performers did, and I recalled a little sadly a small boy in South Africa who had only seen the backs of the clowns.

At School

All my youth was spent in the slums of Cape Town. I went to school on the hillside above the city and in the afternoon I and my friends would come down again into the smelly environs of District Six. I recall a few faces from the past. There was Daniel a jolly black boy with a smile full of white teeth. We were great chums. Somewhere along the line we drifted apart. When I met him again years later he had turned into a gangster and was continually in and out of prison. I remember the girls we used to chase along the streets. There was Habiba, a beautiful member of the Moslem community. She was my favourite, with her great eyes and long, straight black hair framing her olive-skinned face. Again, many years later, when I was canvassing for an election, I knocked on the door of a municipal voter, and when it was opened, there was something which had been a woman looking out at me. Matted greying hair was untidily wrapped in a kerchief, the face had fallen into loose wrinkles, prematurely aged, the rotten teeth smiled curiously at me above the body that had collapsed under greasy clothes. She smiled at me from a background like a dark cavern full of smells. It took me some time to recognise the eyes in the ravaged face. It was Habiba, but not the beautiful girl I had known when I had been a young boy chasing her on the streets. Grim life had destroyed that Habiba. Now there was just a hag whose eyes I recognised and who recognised me.

The grinding misery of the slums destroyed our people, blighted their lives before they had time to grow up. On the street corners the children shot dice and the dagga cigarettes passed from mouth to mouth. In the lamplight the razor-edged knives flashed and the blood mingled with the spittle and the rivulets of stagnant black water.

I read "The Iron Heel" and saw in Jack London's "people of the abyss" my own community ground down under the weight of poverty, oppression, ignorance. Could it be that oppressed people all over were the same? In "The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists" I saw our own working men. These books moved me more than the set books we were given to read in school. I wasn't interested in "The Adventures of Maurice Buckler" or "Micah Clarke". At second-hand bookstalls I found the "Trial and Execution of Sacco and Vanzetti" and "The State: It's Origin and Function" by William Paul, from the old Socialist Labour Press.

Threat of War

While I was in high school the Spanish Civil War was on. The news in the South African press was scanty, but some of us followed it. There was a period of restlessness. You wanted to get through school in order to enter a more dynamic world. After high school I turned away from further education because it appeared that life held more serious things than more certificates based on knowledge that had little to do with reality.

Nazism was overrunning Europe. I knew about the stupid system that turned my own people into strangers in their country. We were continually reminded that we were "Non-Europeans Only"; in Europe they were butchering Jews and gipsies, and Hitler called us "subhumans". We were all one, because we were all being persecuted, and they were fighting in Europe. I wanted to fight the Nazis, but when I left home to join the armed forces the recruiting officer found me underweight and too skinny. But one could still gain experience in struggle here at home.

At the local Labour Bureau I asked for a job in a factory. I wanted to know what it was like to be a worker, so I went into this place that manufactured metal containers. All day long the conveyor belts clattered and roared and the shiny tin cans marched past like regiments of soldiers. In front of the pounding machines girls and women sat as if welded to them, while we, Coloured and African boys and men brought the sheets of plate which they turned into cans. There were women who had had their fingers pulped off under the crashing die-stampers. The boss generously gave them a job for life at about four pounds a week. Once our blood froze when a man screamed above the roar of machinery as his arm was caught in a machine. At the waxing tables women perspired in the hellish heat. The highest paid workers got about five pounds a week.

At lunch time I found myself talking to the workers. I seemed to have become a great talker. I talked about lots of things, I remember. International news, South African politics, the colour-bar. Some of the workers viewed me with curiosity. They asked me whether I was a communist. Certainly I was a member of the trade union. Was I a communist? I must have been telling them things, explaining situations, in the manner of a communist.

Given the Sack

Then one day the trade union made demands which the bosses did not accept. There was talk of a strike. The trade union wasn't very strong and the bosses acted quickly. Certain workers were no longer needed. Men, women, Coloured, African, found themselves without jobs. They were members of the trade union committee and other outspoken workers. Among them was myself.

I worked for a while in the drawing department of a commercial firm, reproducing blueprints on a copying machine. There were other Coloured men working there too, but they were messengers or served the tea to the White staff. The Whites referred to them all the time as "boys". They were married and had families, but they were still "boys" in the eyes of the Whites. One of them had worked for that firm for twenty-five years and the managing director presented him with a watch. The heads of department looked on condescendingly and he was promoted to head messenger. But he was still referred to as a "boy" thereafter. All the time my gorge rose. I used to encourage the "boys" to attend meetings on the Grand Parade in Cape Town, where the Communist Party held lunchtime talks. The Whites in the firm looked at me with suspicion. Somehow they carefully avoided coming face to face with me. Perhaps I wasn't quite like the other "boys".

One day I realised that while I had been encouraging my mates to take more interest in those things which were keeping them in that position of indignity as second-class people in this their own motherland, I could do more myself. I was 22 years old. Perhaps I remembered the little boy who could not see what the performers were doing that time at the circus; or Daniel and Habiba, or those factory girls with their fingers cut off, or the hard life of my parents.

Around the corner from where I worked was the office of the Communist Party. A little nervously I climbed the narrow stairs. What responsibilities confronted me? It wasn't as if you were going to join a football club or a benefit lodge. That was when I first joined the Young Communist League. The next year the Nationalist Government came into power and started making dire threats against the communists. I transferred from the YCL into the ranks of the Communist Party.

DARK DAYS IN THE SUDAN

by El Mahdawi

On the eve of the unsuccessful July 19th movement, the people of the Sudan were so hostile to the Numeiry regime and the political atmosphere was so ominously oppressive, that a take-over was bound to receive widespread support.

Perhaps the conditions for a popular insurrection, as defined in the classical scientific analyses of revolution, were not yet ripe, notwithstanding the general discontent that was evident in every aspect of life in the Sudan. The Numeiry clique had turned its back on every revolutionary item in the announcement they broadcast when they came to power in the early morning of May 25, 1969.

Under the cover of socialist terminology trotted out in speeches here and there for local consumption, they had in fact established a military dictatorship that was downright reactionary. Their anti-communist line reached its height in February of this year when Numeiry launched his verbal attack on the Communists – an attack of a ferocity unprecedented even in the days of the governments of the bourgeois parties. He exhorted the Sudanese people to seek out and crush all Communists.

A number of Communist Party leaders were detained, among whom was Suaad Ibrahim, the first Sudanese woman political detainee.

This was accompanied by a government reshuffle that brought reactionary elements into the Cabinet. Although it kept the martyred Communist leader Joseph Garang in office as Minister of Southern

Affairs, the Numeiry junta continued to follow an immoral two-faced policy towards the problem of the Southern Sudan. The obstacles they placed in the way of implementing the June 1969 declaration guaranteeing self-determination for the Southern Sudan were tantamount to a rejection of the political solution of this age-old problem.

Southern Policy

All the while the military involved itself in the quagmire of a jungle war against the rebels that served only to justify the ever-accelerating increase in their wages and allowances.

As a result of all this, the Free Officers' Democratic Organisation must have found it opportune to undertake a reformative coup d'etat that came to be the July 19th Revolution.

What was the Communist Party's role in connection with the July 19th movement?

This can only be answered if one is acquainted with the literature the Communist Party has issued on the situation. Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe that the Communist Party abandoned its declared policy on coups d'etat. The resolution issued by the CP Central Committee after its session of March, 1969, stated unambiguously that the strategy of conspiratorial military coups d'etat, as opposed to or detached from patient mass upheaval, in the end served only the interests of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie and exposed the revolution to tremendous harm.

Yet, when two months later, in May 1969, the Free Officers' Organisation staged its coup, the Communist Party felt it could not betray its allies and "old fellow-travellers". The Communist Party mobilised its members and rallied the progressive masses of the Sudan in support of the new regime. The Party had no hand in fixing the dead hour of the coup. Yet, when it did take place, there was no alternative but to undertake its historical responsibility in backing the regime.

The very same thing happened again after the initial success of the military operation on July 19th this year. The only difference was that this time the Communist Party, together with the workers' and tenants' democratic organisations, were granted the freedom of choosing their ministers in the Cabinet. The alliance of different elements that was to compose the National Democratic Front was to be based on equal terms from the start.

National Democratic Front

The Party's view was that the concept of the National Democratic Front was the only one that corresponds to the present historical stage. This was the conclusion that the CP came to at its fourth conference of August 21st, 1970. The resolution of August 1970 states:

> "The National Democratic Front is a standing and obligatory tactic of the national democratic revolution. It is, in effect, the expression of alliance among the social forces of this revolution. Hence the National Democratic Front links up with and ends with the end of this stage.
>
> "When a country enters the socialist stage, new alliances arise, suited to the nature of the new situation. The front is, therefore, not a mere organisational form (as) this is governed by various characteristics of our country that need to be understandingly and flexibly taken into account.
>
> "The one-party system, even if it were the Communist Party itself, does not provide the appropriate form for the alliance of the democratic stage, because, strictly speaking, any party should necessarily have a unity of ideology of a particular class. No party can tolerate or harbour heterogeneous ideologies or factions. The programme and charter of the Communist Party, for instance, are drawn from the ideology of the working class. A dissenting ideology within the Party would promptly lead to a conflict over the supremacy of one of the two ideologies. This is true of any other party.
>
> "Therefore the one-party system at the national democratic stage of the revolution in our country, with all its national, tribal, socio-political characteristics, as well as its class differences, does not provide a tool capable of the unification of these classes in favour of the fulfilment of the current tasks of the revolution. Adoption of any one party to play this role would only result in the scattering of the forces of the revolution and, consequently, failure to implement the tasks of the stage fully and precisely.
>
> "The National Democratic Front, therefore, constitutes the organisation and political alliance of the working class, peasantry, revolutionary intellectuals, national bourgeoisie, revolutionary officers and soldiers – an alliance based on a national democratic programme expressing the common interest and commitment of

these classes. In order that this alliance should stand on a firm basis, the *independence* of its various components *must be* safeguarded."

Popular Support

The government of the National Democratic Front was about to be achieved. In the two days following the July 19th Revolution the democratic organisations were engaged in the selection of their representatives in the authority.

The masses of the Sudan had already expressed their support of the new regime in different ways. In fact, the rally of Wednesday morning, July 21st, was unparalleled in the history of the country. 250,000 persons, almost half the population of the three towns that form the capital, gathered at the square of the Presidential Palace, raising banners and chanting slogans in support of the new democracy, the National Democratic Front Government etc.

The rally was addressed by the martyred Hashim El Atta, who warned the masses to be on their guard as the Sudanese Revolution was passing through the most complicated period in its history. Anything was to be expected, not excluding a foreign invasion.

Incidents of that same day ran at a breath-taking pace. The reactionary alliance between the bourgeoisie of the Sudan and neocolonialism was engaged in mounting activity aimed at dismantling the new revolutionary regime. The Libyan Government, helped by the Egyptian Intelligence Service, took a hand in the counterrevolution. Early that same morning, the chairman of the Revolutionary Council Colonel Babakr al-Nur and another member were kidnapped from a British plane while overflying Libya.

Two leading members of the Numeiry junta, General Khalid Abbas and Mohammed Abdel Halim, were in Libya at the time. They had come from Belgrade, via Cairo, on a charter plane put at their disposal by Lonhro Company at the request of a certain Khaleel Osman, a Sudanese millionaire resident in Kuwait. The plan, disclosed later by Numeiry and verified by Egyptian President Sadat, was that Khalid Abbas would lead the Sudanese troops situated on the Suez Canal and have them parachuted over Khartoum to assist the counteroffensive that would already have been initiated by the Egyptian troops based in Wadi Seidna and El Shajara, at both ends of Khartoum.

Foreign Interference

Such interference on the part of the Egyptians was to be expected, but was evidently not anticipated with the magnitude and abruptness that was shown.

Some have tried to see an analogy with what happened in Syria in 1961, but this is far-fetched and unthinkable. At that time Syria was detached from the United Arab Republic by a coup d'etat. President Nasser could have intervened militarily – that would have been justified by the constitution that linked the two countries. Instead, President Nasser ordered the Egyptian troops to withdraw from just offshore Lathugiyya port and the outskirts of Damascus.

Contrary to the counsel of his aides, President Nasser said at the time that Arab blood should not be spilt by Arab hands. It should better be saved for the day when we come to grips with our common enemy – imperialism and Zionism.

The Revolutionary regime of July 19th may have calculated that the morals of Nasser and Nasserism still prevailed. But the man is there no more, and the latter is today a ramshackle structure, torn to pieces by the rightist Sadat who has two short-sighted things in mind – a retreating peaceful settlement with Israel and the solution of his overpopulation and unemployment at the expense of Libyan resources and revenues and the extensive uncultivated lands of the Sudan.

The Egyptian and Libyan interference in the Sudan, military and otherwise, was evident for the man in the street in Khartoum on the afternoon of that bloody Wednesday, July 21st. The Egyptian authorities did not venture to conceal it; the Libyans publicly boasted of it.

Immediately he was back in the saddle, the puppet Numeiry put anti-Communism into high gear. It was a new opportunity for him to pour his spleen on the Communists, to give vent to his unfounded grudges and to wipe out any kind of opposition. The reactionary forces of the Sudan, represented in the bourgeois and feudal elements, could never have dreamed of such an opportunity, tactically speaking. It was their chance to settle old accounts with the progressive forces of the Sudan.

Massacre

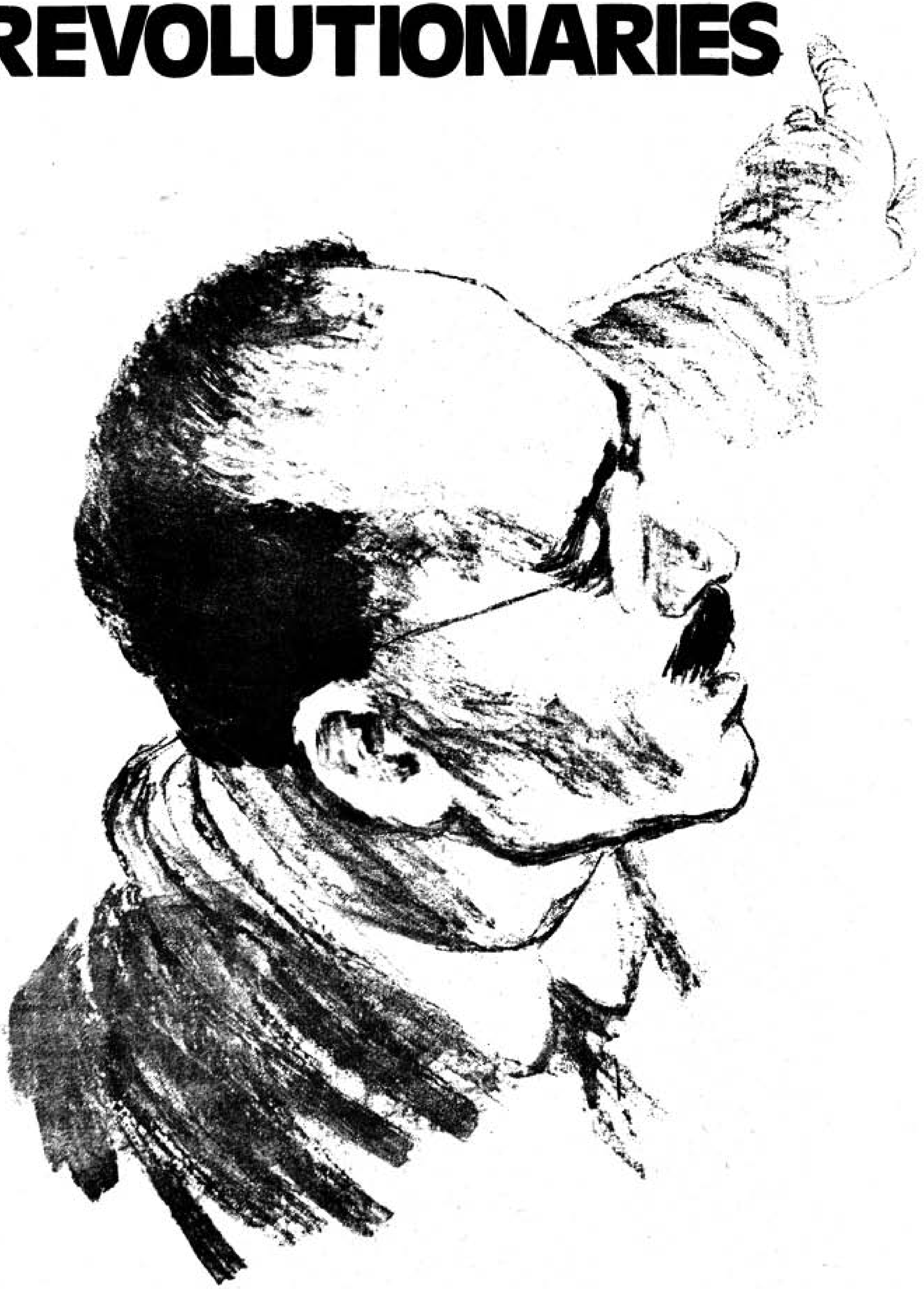
The bloodshed on that and the following days was such as our country has never before experienced, even in the struggle against colonialism. Besides those martyred from the nationalistic, democratic and Communist elements, those held in detention in prisons, storehouses and schools turned into concentration camps amount to thousands. A man has only to be pointed out as a Communist for the troops, still patrolling the streets of the cities and towns in the Sudan, to arrest him without the least interrogation.

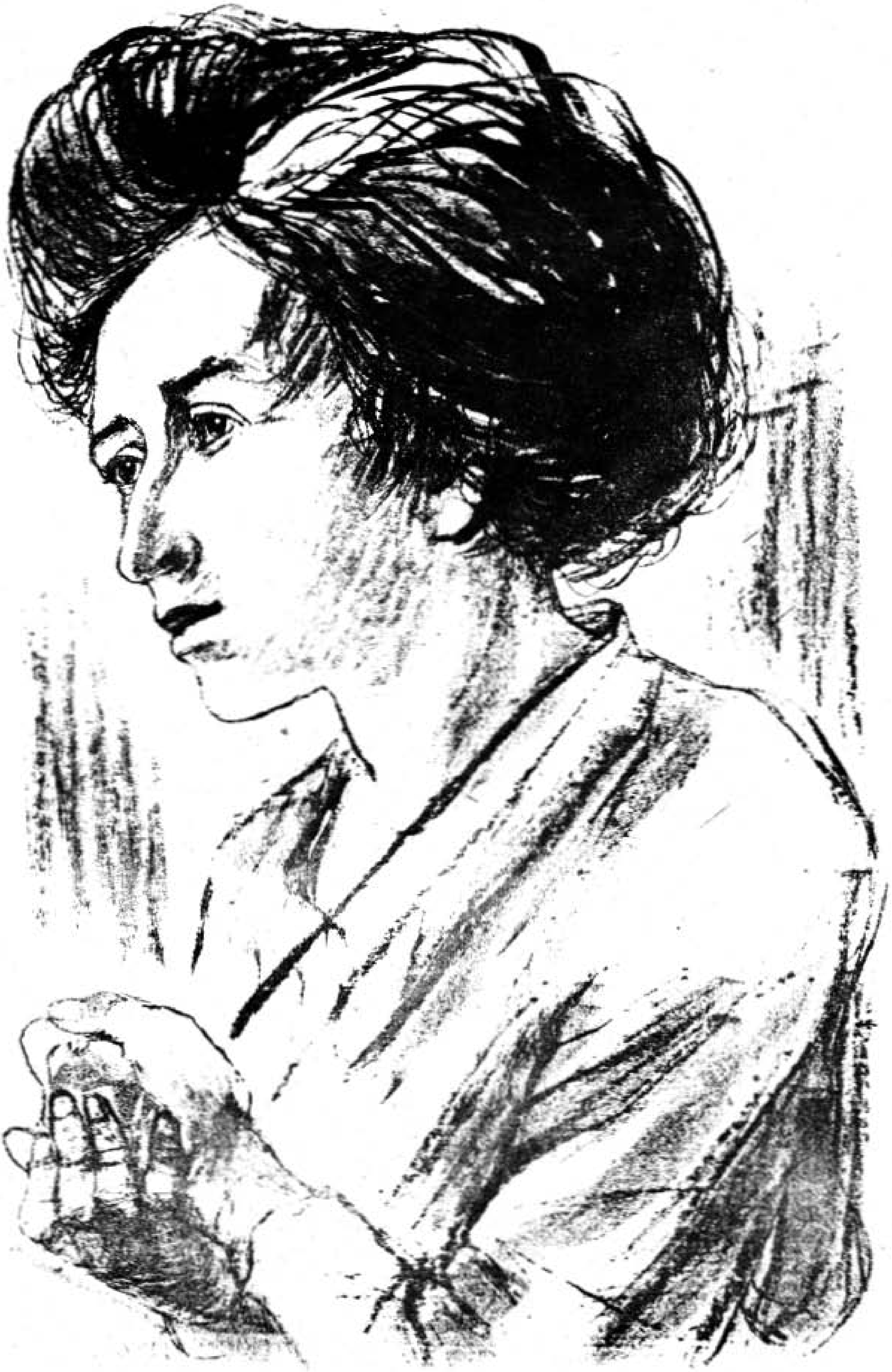
Of course, the reactionary forces of the Sudan have always been threatening that they were preparing another Indonesia for the forces of progress in our country. But Numeiry's crackdown was so viciously bloody, the military behaved in so bloodthirsty a fashion, that even the reactionaries were taken aback and dumbfounded. Their dreams could not even have extended so far.

Nevertheless, the Sudan will not prove another Indonesia. The Numeiry clique has detained the Communist Party's activists and a considerable number of its rank and file. But the Party is still there. The Central Committee held a session amid the very dark days of the witch-hunt. It elected a new General Secretary, Mohammed Ibrahim Nugud. It also issued an appeal to the Sudanese people declaring that the Communist Party, the vanguard of the Sudan Revolution, would not be liquidated so easily.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS STILL THERE, COHESIVE AND INTACT. THE INDEPENDENCE OF OUR COUNTRY HAS BEEN JEOPARDISED, BUT WE WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT TILL THE LAST BREATH OF LIFE, TILL THE LAST DROP OF BLOOD, IN THE INTEREST OF OUR COUNTRY.

CENTENARY OF 2 GREAT GERMAN REVOLUTIONARIES





These drawings were executed by Professor Ernst Jazdzewski in 1971, the year of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. He dedicated them to the 8th Party Day of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The Sudan events: A BLOW AT AFRICAN FREEDOM & UNITY

Statement by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party

Our Party expresses the grave concern and sharp condemnation of the South African working class and freedom-loving people against the wave of counter-revolutionary repression and reaction proceeding in the Sudan.

Following his return to office, backed by an alliance of foreign interventionists and internal reaction. General Numeiry launched a campaign of savage and brutal repression against the leaders of the Sudanese working class and democratic movements which can only recall to our people the actions of the fascist Vorster government of South Africa.

Comrades Abdel Khalig Mahgoub, General Secretary of the Sudanese Communist Party, Joseph Garang, Minister for Southern Affairs, and Sudanese and international trade union leader, Shafie Ahmed El Sheikh were hanged after a travesty of legal proceedings held in secret before military tribunals. The patriotic army leaders, Babakr al-Nur, President of the Revolutionary Council, Major Farouk Hamdalla and Major Mohammed El Zein were shot – the former two after being illegally kidnapped by the Libyan authorities while in flight on a British plane – for their part in the July 19 take-over directed at restoring Sudan to the path of progress undertaken by the revolutionary government of 25 May, 1969, the path of socialism and democracy betrayed by Numeiry.

Thousands of Communists, trade unionists, leaders and members of women's youth and other democratic organisations have been arrested and detained. The Minister of the Interior, Mohammed Idris, announced that 'the Communist Party is abolished. It will be annihilated'.

A barrage of poisonous and lying anti-Communist propaganda has been launched by the Numeiry regime.

The charge that the Communist Party of the Sudan was responsible for the coup the previous week was manifestly false. It had advised against the 1969 military take-over in the belief that stable socialist regimes can only emerge from and rest upon the organised masses of the people. Nevertheless once the coup had taken place the Communist Party, the only mass political Party of the Sudan, gave the revolutionary officers their backing, in the belief that their programme reflected the interests of the Sudanese people, the martyr Joseph Garang and other Communists agreed to enter the government. When Numeiry began to abandon that programme, when he turned to the Right, outlawed trade unions and progressive mass movements, arrested Comrade Mahgoub, and betrayed the promises of equality and autonomy for the Southern and other non-Arab sections of the population the Party correctly criticised his regime. In so doing the Communists were expressing the mass dissatisfaction which ultimately led to his downfall on July 19 when patriotic, Left inclined officers took over amid popular rejoicing. Once again the Communist Party welcomed and supported a coup which opened the road of progress to unity and a non-capitalist development for the masses, but a coup which it had neither itself initiated nor planned.

It is clear that Numeiry's come-back was not the will of the Sudanese people, but the result of conspiracy and intervention by the ruling circle in Libya and Egypt, aided and abetted by imperialist intelligence services.

Our Party and our people cannot but regard the present events in the Sudan as a blow not only to the Sudanese people but a serious set-back to the cause of African freedom, unity and socialism. The Sudan is a crucial country of our continent; a meeting point between the Arab north and the rest of the peoples of Africa. Under the enlightened policies of Joseph Garang – though his work and authority were undermined by Numeiry's increasingly dictatorial rule – at least a start had been made to eliminate the gross inequalities created by generations of colonial rule, and to implement the policy of regional autonomy.

In the course of this work at least the first steps had been taken to overcome the antagonisms and suspicions fostered by imperialism and to build that unity essential for our successful fight against imperialism in all its forms in the Sudan and all over Africa. The murder of Comrade Garang can only be understood by the Southern peoples as meaning the reversal of his progressive policies and a betrayal of Numeiry's earlier promises.

We, South African Communists, express our deep brotherly solidarity with and confidence in our Sudanese comrades.

The Sudanese Communist Party, since its foundation, has courageously stood in the vanguard of the people's struggles against colonialism, for independence; against the neo-colonialist Abboud regime, against the corrupt bourgeois politicians who succeeded that regime. It has led the mass struggles of the workers to form effective trade unions, to organise peasants, women students and youth. In the course of these struggles our brother Party in the Sudan thrust deep roots among the masses and grew to be the only mass party of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals.

Such a Party cannot be destroyed or annihilated. The Sudanese Communist Party survived the hard blows and repressions of the colonialists and the various reactionary groupings which succeeded them. It survived the attempts of a small minority within its ranks who, last year, proposed the voluntary liquidation of the Party. It will survive the anti-Communist hysteria of the Numeiry regime and carry the red banner unfurled by Abdul Khaleg Mahgoub triumphantly forward to victory.

DOWN WITH ANTI-COMMUNISM, IDEOLOGY OF IMPERIALISM!
LONG LIVE THE UNITED STRUGGLE OF AFRICAN AND ARAB PEOPLES AGAINST COLONIALISM, APARTHEID AND ZIONISM!
LONG LIVE THE SUDANESE COMMUNIST PARTY!

The man they resolved to kill GEORGE JACKSON 1941—1971

'It comes as no surprise that the fascist mentality of the prison authorities induces them to react with extreme panic in the face of this remarkable black man. No wonder they have resolved to kill this man.'

So wrote Black Communist Angela Davis, of George Jackson, in an article published in April this year. And Angela was not alone in foreseeing the tragic murder which took place in San Quentin prison, California, on Sunday, August 23rd. In a letter to Angela, written on June 4th, 1970, George Jackson wrote the following:

> Do you know (of course you do) the secret police (CIA, etc.) go to great lengths to murder and consequently silence every effective black person the moment he attempts to explain to the ghetto that our problems are historically and strategically tied to the problems of all colonial people. This means that they are watching *you* closely. I worry . . .
>
> It's no coincidence that Malcolm X and M. L. King died *when* they did. Malcolm X had just put it together . . . You remember what was on his lips when he died. Vietnam and economics, political economy. The professional killers could have murdered him long before they did. They let Malcolm rage on muslim nationalism for a number of years because they knew it was an empty ideal, but the second he got his feet on the ground, they murdered him . . .
>
> I sure hope you understand, sister, and hurry. This hour hand is sweeping like the second hand.

George feared for Angela (as we all fear for her today). He also knew that he was speaking of his own situation. George Jackson certainly had his 'feet on the ground', and for him the hour hand of the clock was sweeping madly. Yet he had 'seized the time', as his magnificent moving collection of prison letters, *Soledad Brother* – the finest work to emerge from the current stage of the American Black Liberation Struggle – clearly demonstrates.

In the course of George's letters, we see an angry boy become a dedicated man. We see a furious 'anti-White' become a thinking socialist who declares that, 'The blanket indictment of the white race has done nothing but perplex us, inhibit us'. In one of his later letters, he says, 'I still think of myself as a black, and an African, but I can't be satisfied with myself until I am Communist man, revolutionary man'.

Charged, at the age of seventeen, with being implicated in the theft of seventy dollars (to which, despite evidence pointing to his innocence, the lawyer appointed to defend him persuaded him to plead guilty 'to save court costs'), George Jackson was sentenced to 'one to life', an indefinite sentence, under which a prisoner applies for parole each year. In ten years, George was never given parole. He wrote: 'No black will leave this place . . . until they see that thing in his eyes. And you can't fake it – resignation, defeat – it must be stamped clearly across the face'. George Jackson's face would never wear that stamp.

George Jackson's lawyers were convinced that he would be acquitted of the charge of killing a prison guard on which he was to appear in court *on the day after that on which he was murdered.* Those who killed him were determined that he should not escape their hands. George's heroic mother reports that when she went to the prison to claim his body, a guard laughed at her and said he was glad George was finally dead. He added: 'You'll be running out of sons pretty soon. We got one last year and one today'. (George's brother Jonathan – aged seventeen – was shot and killed on August 7th last year, during an attempt to free George from prison.)

George Jackson wrote: 'I don't care how long I live. Over this I have no control, but I do care about what kind of life I live, and I can control this. I may not live another five minutes, but it will be five minutes definitely on my terms'.

George's terms were those of a dedicated revolutionary. Outside the US embassy in London, on the day of George's death, a group of young black demonstrators chanted: 'You can kill a revolutionary, but you cannot kill a revolution'.

And in the revolution, and in the hearts of all his comrades, the hearts of all oppressed people, a dead revolutionary lives on. George Jackson lives today, and for always.

D. W.

AFRICA: Notes and Comments

by A. Langa

TANZANIA: Debate over Socialism

Since Tanzania's sharp turn leftwards with the historic Arusha Declaration in 1967, there has developed, more and more urgently, the need for a fully worked out socialist strategy which does not rely only on opposition to capitalist exploitation, however wholehearted and militant that opposition might be. What was needed, indeed still is needed, is to hammer out the political, the ideological, and the organisational prerequisites for building socialism in Tanzania.

There are severe problems, not least the fact that Tanzania is one of the most backward countries, in economic terms and thus in terms of class formation, in which a serious socialist commitment has been attempted. And, of course, there are the peculiar difficulties of building a socialist political force out of the broad-front, relatively badly-organised national forces which conducted the struggle for independence: there is, in short, no organised, class-conscious political force to act as the nucleus in the struggle for socialism.

With varying success, the Tanzanian leadership has begun to identify and come to terms with these problems. The "ujamaa" (socialist) villages, for example, have been fostered as a means of curbing the development of petty capitalism in the countryside, while enabling the peasantry to increase their standards of life by managing their own enterprises in a collective manner, a manner which leads to higher levels of social and political consciousness as well. There have, inevitably, been problems with the village programme, but it seems clear that it provides a workable answer to those who say that rural society in much of Africa is too 'undeveloped' to sustain socialist forms of society (a favourite ultra-left argument, which leads straight to 'allowing rural capitalists to have their head', of course). These middle-class revolutionaries – who have been roundly criticised in Tanzania itself – have evidently not taken to heart the fate of the Mensheviks' ideas.

Side by side with the rural socialist measures have come a series of actions to reduce the "exploitative" position of the urban areas vis-a-vis the countryside, to expropriate landlords of urban buildings, and to strengthen popular participation in both the political and the development processes. For some years now, TANU has been building the "ten-house cell" system, whereby each block of ten houses in villages and towns is organised as a TANU cell with a cell leader who is responsible to the local apparatus of the party. And this year there have been attempts, largely by President Nyerere himself, to promote more discussion and criticism of state development plans by all sectors of the population – although it is a little early to see how this participation will work out in practice.

One of the most important questions to emerge from these debates and these measures, however, is in a way the most basic question of all. It can be summed up in the question "State control for what, and for whose benefit?" It is this question, and ones related to it, that have occasioned some of the sharpest political conflicts in Tanzania in the recent past, and which will without the slightest doubt be critical to the country's future socialist development.

In essence, socialist critics of government policy have been saying that the state takeovers of recent years threaten to produce, not socialist economic institutions run for the benefit of the community, and run along democratic lines, but state-capitalist organisations which become increasingly divorced from the needs of the people they are supposed to serve. Naturally, these criticisms often take specific form: there have been many voices raised, for example, against state involvement in luxury hotel projects, while the State Trading Corporation has come under strong criticism for its plans for a giant new office building, which is contrasted with the dire need for people's housing.

Specific state institutions – such as marketing boards for agricultural crops, such as the State Trading Corporation, and others – have been criticised for performing their work in a fundamentally capitalist, uncommitted manner, and in some cases for being downright inefficient in the discharge of their public trust. The President himself, earlier this year, strongly urged employees of publicly-owned enterprises to act consciously as socialists, and to remember that they were working for the people and not for some remote capitalist master.

Some strands in the socialist critique of the activities of the state in the Tanzanian economy, however, touch more closely on thorny theoretical and political questions. It has been charged, for example, that state financial institutions are applying criteria to their lending and other activities which take no account of development needs, but merely apply capitalist banking practices. In general, there have been complaints that state enterprises have not fundamentally changed their style of work, and the content of their policies, since they came under public ownership.

Beneath these criticisms there exists – although it is not often voiced – an even more fundamental one: that the bureaucratic apparatus of the state is capable of acting, and does at times act, contrary to the socialist interests of the working people of Tanzania. Not only do these bureaucratic, elitist tendencies adversely affect the operation of state institutions themselves, but the elites are diametrically opposed to political or social developments which challenge their control over key sectors of Tanzanian life. Thus, for example, it is known that there are strong voices raised within the Cabinet and the TANU hierarchy against "too much" popular involvement in development projects, lest people begin to create socialist institutions "without proper administrative preparation" – i.e. without the bureaucracy being fully in control of the new developments. It has often happened, for example, that Area Commissioners in Tanzania have tried to stop villagers from forming ujamaa villages, simply because the initiative came from the people themselves, and not from the bureaucracy. TANU activists have likewise suffered "disciplinary measures" from state officials where they work too energetically at politicising the people.

It would be foolish to argue that the "Arusha" curbs on leaders owning property or being exploiters have been wholly effective in eliminating capitalist influences within the Tanzanian political leadership; furthermore, the Tanzanian brand of socialism, although it draws increasingly on Marxist ideas and practices, nevertheless retains a number of idealistic, non-revolutionary elements arising from its identification with the traditional African communalism which the ujamaa concept seeks to embody. And, perhaps most importantly of all, there are the pressures towards bureaucratisation and bureaucratic values which are inherent in every large organisation, and particularly in governmental ones. Where the state bureaucracy has control over the major areas of social and economic life, but has not itself been thoroughly politicised, and is not subject to comprehensive criticism and control from the political organisations of the people, there tends to develop a sort of statism, a habit of allowing only what the bureaucracy thinks is acceptable or good, a habit of expecting all initiatives for economic development and social change to come from the all-knowing government machine. And in this set-up, of course, there is ample room for all sorts of pro-capitalist people to advance to leading positions and work against the interests of socialism.

The danger in Tanzania is not that this has happened, or that criticism of the bureaucracy has already been stifled: it is that it may be on the point of happening. Despite the undoubted commitment of Nyerere himself to democratic participation and his hostility to all kinds of arrogance and elitism (he has recently absented himself from the capital for an extended spell of manual work among the Wagogo, who are trying to build socialist villages for themselves), there have recently been signs of intolerance of critical debate about socialism, and in particular of criticism of elitist tendencies and anti-socialist policies in the state sector. Some of this criticism, it must be said, comes from exactly those "super-socialist" romanticists with whom no sensible African revolutionaries would waste their time; much of it, however, emanates from serious and committed revolutionaries who are disturbed by what they see, and whose loyalty to socialism and to Tanzania is not to be questioned. In particular they are disturbed by the lack of a real socialist strategy for the state sector, and by the apparent take-over of the powers and (to some extent) the functions of TANU by the government bureaucracy. If these tendencies go unchecked, and if the critics themselves are silenced, it will be a cause for gloom among Tanzania's progressive friends.

CHAD : Fake Withdrawal

The French imperialists and the decrepit Chad regime of President Francois Tombalbaye have lately been eagerly putting about the story that, with the rebellion in the country "under control" and the political situation "returning to normal", the French troops which have been propping up this regime against Frolina's guerrillas are now "beginning to withdraw".

To give some credence to this pathetic lie, there began in June the withdrawal of the 400 troops of the 3rd French Colonial Infantry Regiment (appropriate name, and how humiliating for Tombalbaye!), which had arrived 13 months before to relieve the clapped-out forces of the French Foreign Legion. And great play has been made of the fact that two renegade former opponents of the regime, Baba Hassane and Djibrine Keralla, have returned to the Tombalbaye camp and have been elected members of the Progressive Party and appointed ministers in the government.

Not all of Tombalbaye's enemies are so easily bought however: the Toubou people of the north have certainly not been reconciled to the government, and even more importantly the leader of Frolina, Dr Abba Siddick, has recently re-emphasized Frolina's determination to oust the present regime, calling for a conference of all Chad's political forces, free of foreign interference, to determine the country's political future.

The "peace" and the "withdrawal", of course, do not in reality exist – there is no peace, and France will certainly not abandon Tombalbaye and thus leave bare a flank of Niger, where French interests will soon be irrevocably committed in the extraction of rich uranium ore (see Africa Notes, *African Communist* no. 44, 1st Quarter 1971). Six hundred Frenchmen are assigned to the Chad army as "advisers", and no less than 1,000 French troops remain in Fort Lamy, the Chad capital, which is also in fact the headquarters for the entire French counter-insurgency and dictator-propping operation in Central Africa. So much for "peace" and "withdrawal" – the truth is that the entire region is in a state of crisis, with incompetent military and military-supported regimes increasingly unable to cope with the external demands of neo-colonialism and the internal demands of their own people. The French imperial presence in Chad remains essential, therefore, to the protection not only of Tombalbaye, but of French interests in Niger and the other Centrafrican states, and to the fulfilment of French defence (i.e. intervention) treaties with the rulers of these states.

MALAGASY : Slide Into Crisis

The Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) government has long been rightly regarded by progressive Africans as miserably and faint-heartedly reactionary: President Philibert Tsiranana has a long and shameful record of subservience to the French, who put him in power just before Malagasy independence in 1959, and who still dominate the top echelons of government, retain an air base on the island, and largely run the educational system. And, as South Africans know only too well, he is a slavish adherent to notions of "dialogue" with the fascist south, not least because of his eager courting of white tourists, who are coming to Tananarive in growing numbers, a palpable insult to the Malagasy people.

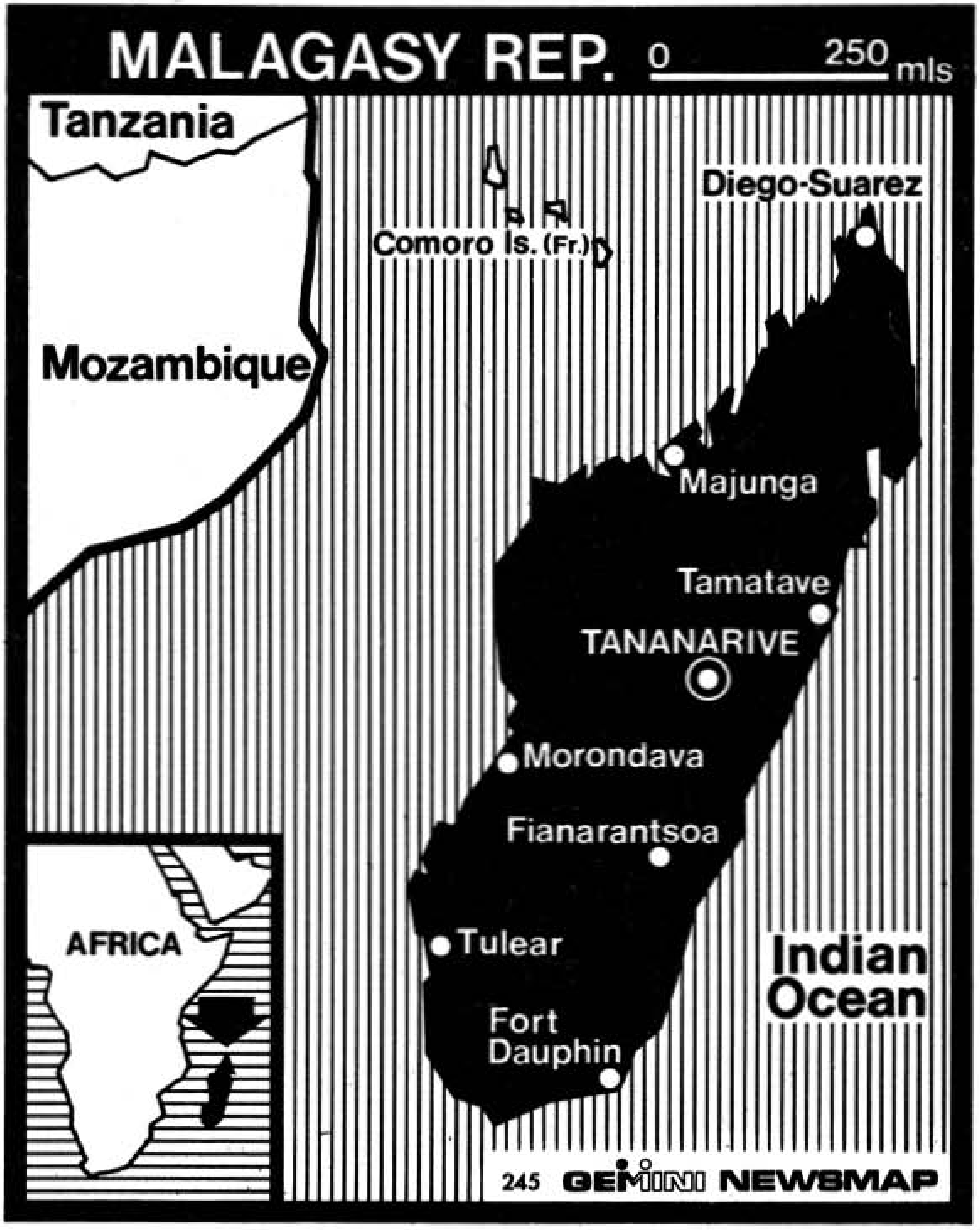
Tsiranana has run the republic along similar lines to the late unlamented Tubman of Liberia: all real governmental decisions have to be referred to him, with his ministers acting as his messengers, the ruling Social Democratic Party (PSD) as a means of disciplining the masses not to show resistance and of handing out favours to political hacks, and with an elaborate system of factions within the party, led by "southern" and ' northern" leaders, each with an eye on Tsiranana's fading health (he was partly paralysed by a stroke while visiting Cameroun in 1966, and spent seven months in a French hospital).

Lately this sick set-up has come under increasing pressure. Andre Resampa, leader of the southern faction of the party, and a former vice-president of the republic, has been demoted and finally imprisoned, mainly at the instigation of his northern enemies, but also because he appears to have disturbed the French by cultivating too close a relationship with the U.S. Ambassador, who shortly after Resampa's arrest went scuttling for cover to Washington.

At the same time, Tsiranana's position is deteriorating, particularly in the capital, Tananarive, which is under the control of the leftist but non-revolutionary AKFM. Despite feverish attempts by the President's sidekicks, the AKFM has so far not accepted invitations to join the PSD in plundering the fruits of political office, although there are some signs of tension within the AKFM ranks.

And, in the first half of this year, the authorities had to contend with a sizeable peasant revolt in the south, led by a populist movement, Monima. This insurrection led not only to the arrest of Monja Jaona, the Monima leader, but to the exiling to a small island of more than 500 peasant leaders.

Plainly, the forces of radical change have a long way to go in Madagasçar. Not only do they have to contend with the growing American and South African interests and the already existing French one, but they have also to overcome the present ideological, ethnic and regional diversities which have so far prevented the formation of an effective revolutionary force. While AKFM retains strong roots among the proletariat of the capital, and contains many Marxist cadres in its ranks, its leadership has become increasingly involved in the elite politics game; Monima, in many respects, represents a regression, pandering as it often does to the most backward elements in peasant consciousness, turning peasant discontent into what will turn out to be blind alleys, and prating the meanwhile about "the need for an exclusively Malagasy political ideology". Both of them clearly possess potential for progressive change, but both fall far short of the real requirements of the Malagasy masses. Even so, their problems are as nothing compared to Tsiranana's, as he watches close companions plot to assume control, the south explode in revolt, and even the people of his capital retain a blank and cold hostility.


MALAGASY REP.
0
250 mls
Tanzania
Comoro Is. (Fr.)
Diego-Suarez
Mozambique
Majunga
Tamatave
TANANARIVE
Morondava
Fianarantsoa
AFRICA
Tulear
Indian Ocean
Fort Dauphin
245 GEMINI NEWSMAP

How the militants came to power in the Indian Congress

by Azad

After the departure of Mahatma Gandhi in 1914, the Indian political movements up to 1939 degenerated into moderate merchant class led organisations which were primarily interested in safeguarding the rights and privileges of the trading elements and sought to come to terms with the respective White Supremacist Governments.

This moderate leadership, despite the various restrictive and discriminatory legislation and practices heaped on the Indian people, relied in the main on petitions, deputations and the organising of mass meetings to ventilate their grievances. Afraid, and in some ways incapable, of turning the political movements into truly mass based organisations, these leaders constantly sought refuge in appeals to the good sense of the British Colonial Government of India and the British Government. This misplaced trust in imperialism was another fundamental weakness of these bodies. Moreover they assiduously kept aloof from the other non-white organisations principally the ANC and the APO. This pro-imperialist, sectarian; gradualist approach was radically altered only after the militants and progressives had won control over the principal political organisations. How and why this change occurred is the main theme of this article.

The first Indians arrived in South Africa as indentured labourers. Their conditions of work, living and service were deplorable. These first arrivals were later followed by small traders, mainly Muslims from Gujerat who saw the valuable possibilities of an increasing market. From Durban some of the Indians moved north following the main railway line. However, after 1890, when the Indians were forcibly deported without compensation from the Orange Free State Republic, no Indian was allowed to settle in that Province. Until the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi the Indians were docile and separated by barriers of religion, language and custom. Gandhi's resistance campaigns of 1906 and 1913 not only turned the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) which he had formed in 1894 and the Transvaal British Indian Association into mass organisations, but also infused the Indian people with a spirit of militancy and determination to resist unjust laws. This spirit disappeared after Gandhi left South Africa for India in 1914.

The Class Areas Bill of 1925 introduced by the Nationalist Labour Pact Government which aimed at segregating the Indians economically and residentially compelled the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) formed in 1919 to take some action. But this action was mainly confined to pleading with the Government of India to intervene on their behalf, and the organising of mass meetings to let off steam. They refused to consider the possibilities of more militant action, even though the response of the mass of the people was sufficiently encouraging.

Round Table Conference

However, the intervention of the Government of India was successful and the Union Government agreed to a Round Table Conference of the two Governments leaving the victims of the legislation on the side lines – mere onlookers. This Conference led to the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 wherein the Government of India in typical colonialist fashion undertook to assist the Union Government in implementing the latter's nefarious repatriation policy. The South African delegates agreed to an upliftment clause whereby the Indian people would be encouraged and given the opportunities to adopt "Western standards of life". At the Conference it was also agreed that an Agent-General (later changed to High Commissioner of the Indian Government would have diplomatic status in South Africa. These representatives (all Indians) of British Imperialism played a debilitating role on the life of the Indian political movements until 1946 when relations were ruptured. True to their class ideology they always counselled moderation and extolled the virtues of British Imperialism. But even their presence could not prevent the continuous onslaught on the rights of the Indian people.

Although the Union Government pursued with vigour its policy of repatriation, this scheme was doomed to failure. For the bulk of the Indian people had by this time deep roots in the country and regarded South Africa as their permanent home. Thus Malan's aim of reducing the Indian population to an "irreducible minimum" failed to materialise.

It was the Second Round Table Conference held in Cape Town in 1932 which led to a major split in the NIC. At the Conference the Indian Government, to placate white opinion, agreed to assist the Union Government in implementing a Colonisation Scheme for Indians from South Africa to other parts of the world. The Fusion Government in deference to the wishes of the Europeans of Natal appointed in June, 1933 the Indian Colonisation Enquiry Committee commonly known as the Young Commission. The SAIC in line with its accommodationist policies agreed to participate in the work of the Committee and duly appointed S.R. Naidoo to sit on it. This action precipitated a major crisis in the NIC. Prominent leaders such as Albert Christopher, P.R. Pather and Manilal Gandhi correctly saw this as a betrayal of the interests of the ex-indentured Indians and their families, resigned from the NIC and formed the Colonial Born and Settlers Indian Association. In order to kill the Young Commission the Association organised a province-wide campaign and held numerous mass meetings which reflected accurately the intense opposition of the Indians to the Young Commission. Within a short time they had superseded the NIC in Durban and Pietermaritzburg in terms of mass support.

For the first time since Gandhi left the country, the Indian working class and farmers were playing a role in the political organisations. Unfortunately, the Association's leaders failed to turn the Association into a truly mass based organisation with mass participation at all levels. They failed to effectively mobilise and organise the working class, principally because they saw the Indian working class and the Indian trade unions as backward elements and not as the principle engine of change. Furthermore, since they had no contact with Marxist ideology and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), they were unable to translate the potential mass support into an effective militant force. The Association was also similar to the Congress in tactics, strategies and goals in relation to issues other than the colonisation question. Consequently the Association never contemplated the possibilities of developing closer fraternal ties with the ANC and the APO. Nevertheless, their campaign had effectively killed the Colonisation Commission and ensured that the voice of the mass of the people was heard.

Role of the C.P.

At this point it is necessary to examine briefly the role of the CPSA in relation to the Indians. We know that some Indian trade unions were represented at the inaugural meeting which gave birth to the Party. But after this, up to the late thirties, the CPSA had very little contact with the Indian trade unions. Consequently the Indian trade unions in Natal which had by the early thirties a large membership and covered a wide area of the industrial and commercial fields were left to fight on their own. It is not clear why the CPSA ignored the Indian working class, trade unions and political organisations. One reason which has been suggested is that the Indian political organisations were reactionary. But that would have been a good ground for the CPSA to have taken a keener interest. It also does not explain why they ignored the trade unions.

Another reason put forward is that after the brutal murder of Johannes Nkosi the Party was under tremendous pressure in Natal and to some extent its work and operations had been forcibly curtailed. There is a lot to be said for this argument.

A further reason seems to be that at this time the CPSA was still suffering from the internal convulsions it experienced due to the "Black Republic" resolutions of the Comintern and the subsequent expulsions. Unable to have a clear and correct perspective of the National Liberatory Movements, principally the ANC, the CPSA was therefore not organisationally geared to forming an alliance or entering into formal relations with those movements.

An argument which must be rejected as arrant nonsense is that which claims that the CPSA was a "white dominated" and "white oriented" party. The history of the CPSA up to that time and its subsequent magnificent contribution to the development of the National Liberatory struggle clearly exposes that argument as no more than malicious anti-communist propaganda.

Nevertheless the failure to organise Indian trade unions, especially during the depression years when unemployment amongst Indians was exceedingly high, is a blot on an otherwise proud record. Fortunately for both the CPSA and the Indian national movements this situation was rectified by the late thirties.

In the Transvaal the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) led by S.M. Nana pursued the same reactionary policies as the NIC and the parent body the SAIC, despite the various amendments to the 1932 Asiatic Act which imposed more and more restrictions on the rights and privileges of the Indians in the Transvaal. In Natal during the period 1935-1938 the Association began a gradual decline into apathy and inactivity and a much decimated NIC hardly functioned. Thus during this period there was no effective opposition and challenge from the Indian political organisations. Starting in 1938-39 the dominant positions enjoyed by the moderates was seriously challenged by the young militants and trade unionists led by Dr Y.M. Dadoo in the Transvaal and H.A. Naidoo, George Ponen and Dr G.M. Naicker in Natal.

On his return in 1936 from Edinburgh, where he had completed his medical studies, Dr Y.M. Dadoo with others such as Molvi Cachalia, Naransammy Naidoo and J.N. Nanabhay formed a left-wing group in the TIC.

The necessity of having a left-wing ginger group was emphasised in January 1939, when Stuttaford, then Minister of Interior, pandering to the racialist demands of various European bodies, announced his servitude scheme which sought to effectively segregate the Indians in the Transvaal commercially and residentially. Again the SAIC and its affiliates dithered, not knowing what to do. On the other hand the radicals offered a forthright answer. This was that Congress should mobilise the people and initiate a passive resistance campaign. Pursuing this strategy the left wing of the TIC succeeded in convincing a TIC mass meeting to support an amendment to the official resolution. The amendment committed the TIC to organise a passive resistance movement to defeat the servitude scheme. Frightened by this dramatic move, the president of the TIC—Valod— unashamedly announced that no such amendment had been passed. Undeterred the militants formed the Nationalist Group of the TIC, endeavouring to transform the TIC into a truly mass-based radical organisation with fraternal links with the ANC and the CPSA. Whilst holding positions in the TIC the Nationalist Bloc activists held their own mass protest meetings, put up posters, chalked slogans on the walls and distributed leaflets in a genuine attempt to build a firm link with the masses.

Despite the opposition of the reactionary office bearers in the TIC and SAIC the militants vigorously prosecuted the passive resistance decision and tried to win control of the TIC. They organised mass meetings and agitational campaigns to win the support of the people. In a short time they had succeeded. At a mass meeting on 7 May 1939 over 3,000 Indians unanimously adopted the following resolution.

> *That this mass meeting of Transvaal Indians strongly protests against the Asiatic Land and Trading Bill as degrading, ruinous and dangerous and violating the Cape Town agreement and casting a slur on the national honour of India, and, therefore, resolves upon resorting to passive resistance as the only means at our disposal to register our*

> *protest by self-suffering and hereby appoints a directing and conducting council of 25 with power to co-opt or substitute to enlist volunteers and collect funds for the campaign and to make all representations and arrangements requisite to the successful carrying on of the struggle to its final end and determination.*[1]

The meeting also elected Dr Y.M. Dadoo as leader of the passive resistance movement.

Under severe pressure from the militants the moderates were compelled to call a mass meeting to discuss the Bill and give an account of their activities. It was abundantly clear that the Nationalist Bloc enjoyed the overwhelming support of the people and would defeat the moderates at the meeting scheduled for 4 June. The discredited office bearers such as Nana realised this and therefore organised gangsters to disrupt the meeting. As a result of the vicious attack by these hired hoodlums a passive resister Dahyabhai Govindji died. Dahyabhai was a true revolutionary and a martyr to the cause.

Passive Resistance

This attack swung even more support over to the radicals, thus ensuring that the Nationalist Bloc had the support of the small working class composed mainly of Tamil and Telegu speaking peoples and the trading class. This was irrefutably demonstrated on July 9 at a mass meeting of over 6,000, when it was unanimously decided to launch passive resistance on 1 August. In this the radicals received the support of large sections of the Indians from Natal. But before this tremendous spirit, support and potential could be realised Gandhi intervened, and asked the Nationalist Bloc to postpone their campaign, in view of his negotiations with the two Governments concerned. The Nationalist Bloc responded to Gandhi's request because they were using his name and technique as a symbol. As Dadoo said in a statement explaining the postponement:

> *Mahatma Gandhi has been our guide and mentor in all that the passive resistance council has been doing in this matter and we shall whole-heartedly await his advice, for we realise that his interest in the cause of Indians in South Africa has not abated one whit, even though many years have elapsed since he left South African shores.*[2]

---

[1] Indian Opinion, 12 May, 1939. [2] Indian Opinion, 4 August, 1939.

However, it seems that this was a mistake. The mass of the Indians were willing and determined to undergo the sacrifices of a militant struggle. Clearly the postponement had the effect of dampening the militant spirit and still left the TIC in the hands of the moderates. Nor was it only a temporary postponement, for as we shall see the passive resistance campaign only started as late as 1941, when the spirit and determination of the people had ebbed away and when some of the leaders such as Dadoo were more concerned and active in the Non-European United Front.

In Natal, in 1939, the CB and SIA and the NIC, reeling under the attacks from the Government and the demands of the people for unity, agreed to unite and form the Natal Indian Association (NIA). However, A.I. Kajee fearing a diminution of his personal authority refused to accept the unity formula and with a small band of people, mainly Muslims, continued with the NIC. Progressives and trade unionists welcomed the new organisation. But their joy was short-lived for within a few months the leaders of the NIA agreed to serve on the Lawrence Committee, whereby they undertook to implement segregation voluntarily by dissuading Indians from buying and occupying properties in predominantly European areas.

The progressives, who were at this time in the minority in the NIA, vehemently opposed this sell-out. In a statement the progressives, including some Communists, gave their reasons for opposing the resolution which gave effect to this betrayal. The statement, signed by Dr Y.M. Naicker, P.N. Harry, M.I. Timol, C.I. Amra, D.A. Seedat and H.A. Naidoo, said:

> *1 The proposed resolution of assurance accepts the principle of voluntary segregation of Indians residentially, and as such, it is tantamount to an acceptance by the Indians of the policy of segregation.*
> *2 The acceptance of such a resolution is a self-inflicted slur and stigma on the name of the Indian community, not only of South Africa but of India as well.*

These issues were however overshadowed by the Imperialist war which started in 1939. The progressives, communists and non-communists, threw themselves into the struggle to ensure that the blacks' world would not be used as cannon fodder. The war period saw the emergence of the militants and radicals as a powerful force. It was also the beginning of extensive and fruitful co-operation between the

SACP and the National Liberatory movements of both the Indians and Africans; viz. the Anti-Pass campaign of 1943-1944. During this time the nature of Imperialism was clearly brought out and the mass of the people began to see and recognise the International character of the anti-Imperialist struggle, thus laying the basis for the anti-Imperialist character of the entire Congress movement.

War Campaign

Soon after the all-White Parliament had decided by a small majority to support British Imperialism in the war, recruiting of Indians for non-combatant roles began under a Colonel Morris. The NIA led by Sorabjee Rustomjee, A. Christopher and P.R. Pather actively supported the recruiting. They did so because they were still under the delusion that British Imperialism would defend their rights and interests. They equated support for British Imperialism with support for the peoples of India and thought that if they agreed to co-operate with the Smuts government, even though on a humiliating basis, Smuts would treat them more sympathetically. These false notions were to be rudely shattered over the next few years.

The progressives succeeded in pursuing an anti-recruiting campaign and after a few months the recruiting of Indians came to a halt. They opposed the war because it was an Imperialist war and correctly demanded the right to bear arms, full equality in the Defence forces and for the extensions of democratic rights to the black people before they would consider fighting in the war. A Non-European United Front was set up, and it became the principle instrument through which the anti-war struggles were conducted. Whilst the white pro-fascist fifth columnists were allowed to spread their hideous propaganda, the NEUF activists Dadoo and D.A. Seedat were not only imprisoned but also later interned. These campaigns had a tremendous impact on the black people. When Dadoo, who was at this time a member of the CPSA, was arrested in Johannesburg in August 1940 and in Benoni in January 1941, large crowds mainly Africans came out in solidarity demonstrations. Dadoo's speech to the Court in Benoni sums up accurately the attitude and determination of the NEUF not only to oppose the war but to skilfully combine it with a demand for a free and democratic South Africa. Dadoo said:

> *The NEUF, in duty bound to its principle of working for the emancipation of the non-European people, and in*

> *honour bound to the confidence reposed in it by the masses of the people, must carry on the struggle against the Pass Laws, Poll Tax, Pick-ups, Anti-Asiatic Legislation, Segregation, Colour Bar in Industries, Low Wages, Sweated Labour, Poverty, Unemployment and all the other laws that oppress our people, and must fight for the recognition of African Trade Unions and full rights of citizenship. In other words, a relentless struggle for the democratic rights of the non-European people must be carried on.*
>
> *In pursuance of this sacred task, we have no other alternative but to explain to our people the true nature of the war . . . and to give them a proper guidance as to the attitude they should adopt.*
>
> *The struggle of the non-European people for liberation is not an isolated struggle, it is merely a continuation of the struggle of the oppressed masses carried on in many lands . . .*[4]

For their opposition to the treacherous co-operation of the NIA with Smuts and for forming a Nationalist Bloc of the NIA the following communists and radicals were expelled: H.A. Naidoo, D.A. Seedat, C.I. Amra, B.A. Maharaj, George Singh, P.M. Harry and Dr G.M. Naicker.

Following the Fascist invasion of the Soviet Union, the character of the war changed. The CPSA recognised this qualitative change, correctly saw the war as a peoples war, and accepted the fundamental importance of defending the first Socialist state – the USSR. This change was not immediately perceptible to the mass of the people and to some extent even to a few leading members of the CPSA. But through painstaking effort members of the CPSA principally Dadoo and Moses Kotane and other progressives won the support of the people. A quotation from a speech by Moses Kotane to a May Day rally in 1942 at the Bantu Sports Ground gives us an insight into how he and the CPSA saw the issue. He

> *There are two countries which must not lose this war – Russia and China – because it is here that the plant of freedom is growing. Russia must be strong after the war to influence world policy. We workers must see to it that this is so. We aren't fighting for the Chamber of Mines, but for ourselves, for our victory. Stand together! Demand arms!*[5]

---

[4] THE GUARDIAN (Cape) 6 February, 1941.

[5] THE GUARDIAN (Cape) 7 May, 1942.

Two examples show that the changed policy was accepted by some of the most representative workers and political organisations.

(1) Representatives of 88 non-European organisations met at Inchcape Hall on 28 July, 1942 to discuss the war issue and the part to be played by the blacks. All shades of opinion were present, from those who were convinced that it was "not our war"; those who believed Japan would liberate the blacks; those whose support for the war effort was hedged with negative conditions; and those who held that the main enemy was Fascism which had to be smashed. After a great deal of discussion and argument, the attitude and views of Dadoo and his supporters was sustained, and by an overwhelming majority a draft manifesto was adopted. The manifesto demanded an honest total war effort, recognition of the right of the blacks to bear arms, to do skilled work and to join and form trade unions.

(2) In Durban in November, 1942, the local branch of the Friends of the Soviet Union (FSU) organised a Pageant and Rally. This rally was attended mainly by Indians and a large number of trade unions were active participants. Trade unions and workers representing over 15 different trades from the Municipal Employees to the Garment Workers carried such slogans as "Aid to Russia" and "Support Soviet Union – Smash Fascism".

However, at this time large sections of the black population were hoping for a Japanese victory. To them Japan was a fellow coloured nation and not surprisingly took pride in the victories of this "coloured nation". Reacting sharply to these misplaced sentiments the CPSA and the NEUF conducted a vigorous campaign to enlighten the mass of the people about the true nature of Japanese Fascism and Imperialist designs. In a statement of appeal after the Japanese successes in the Pacific which was widely distributed and well received, Dadoo said:

> *Some of us believe that since the Japanese belong to the non-European group of races, they are fighting this war to liberate the non-European peoples. It is a belief based on false reasoning and emotional wishful thinking. The capitalists and financiers of Japan are waging this war for their own selfish interests. This they are doing in close collaboration with the European Nazis of Germany, the Fascists of Italy and the pro-Nazis in South Africa and elsewhere . . . .*
>
> *We have no arms, military pay for our soldiers and dependants' allowances are miserable, we have to suffer*

> *from pass laws, poll-tax, colour-bar in industry, non-recognition of African trade unions, segregation, starvation due to low wages, inadequate land for agricultural purposes and a host of other discriminatory laws. We therefore demand that the Union Government give us arms and free us from all oppressive restrictions so that we can 'go all-out to win this all-in war'. We say to the Government 'Free us to defend our country and our homes before it is too late'.*[6]

Here again the forward looking progressives succeeded in winning the support of the mass of the black people for their assessments and views. Thus we see clearly how the courageous conduct of the progressives, communists and non-communists alike contributed towards the radicalisation of the Indian political movements and people.

Local Issues

Although much time and energy of the progressives was expended in the tremendous campaigns during the first few years of the war, the problems peculiar to the Indians were not ignored. Thus, in April 1941 the Nationalist Group of the TIC initiated a limited form of passive resistance against the Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Amendment Act. They set up fruit stalls without licences outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court and near the Town Hall and put up banners and placards, and distributed leaflets explaining their action. This campaign lasted ten months and although it created a more militant atmosphere it was by its very tactical nature confined to a few individuals defying the law. This meant that the mass of the people could only give moral and limited material support, and could not be active participants and the main driving force. Thus when the Nationalist Bloc of the TIC after years of struggle finally compelled the reactionary clique in the TIC to hold elections some of the spirit and determination of the masses had been sapped. Consequently at the elections held on 30 January, 1943 the Nationalist Bloc candidates lost by 3,777 to 3,515. Other reasons explaining this reverse were the great deal of time that Dadoo and others spent on the activities of the NEUF and the failure of the Nationalist Bloc to carry out a systematic co-ordinated election campaign because they were confident of victory.

Fortunately, this temporary defeat did not deter the militants from their aims and a year later the reactionaries were forced to come to an agreement with the Nationalist Bloc which gave Dadoo a leading position on the Executive and saw 15 Nationalist Bloc members elected on to the Working Committee. The major points won by the Nationalist Group in this agreement were: (i) that the TIC would function in a democratic manner; (ii) that the TIC would conduct a vigorous campaign against the Pegging Act and for full citizenship rights; (iii) that the Congress would not be influenced by the British Colonial Government of India and would seek the support of the liberatory movements of India, and (iv) that Congress would consult with other national organisations of non-Europeans, as well as all other progressive bodies, on common issues.

---

[6] THE GUARDIAN, 12 March 1942.

In Natal following the reports of the first and second Broome Commissions and a contrived agitation from the Europeans of Natal, the Pegging Act, 1943 was passed. By this Act Indian ownership and occupation of property in certain areas of Durban was pegged for three years. The Act aroused fierce opposition from the Indian organisations, with the Nationalist Bloc of the NIA demanding the unity of all forces for a concerted struggle to defeat the Act. The Durban district branch of the CPSA also played an active role in the struggle to smash this threat. They held a number of protest meetings in Durban and Pietermaritzburg which called upon the Indians to prosecute a resolute struggle and gave the fight against the Pegging Act a much needed boost. The following resolution is typical of the resolutions passed at these meetings.

> *This mass meeting . . . vehemently condemns the action of the Government in passing the Pegging Bill, which is calculated to segregate the Indian people into ghettos and locations, and which offers a gratuitous insult to the self-respect and national honour of the Indian community.*[7]

This unwarranted attack substantiated the attitude of the progressives that kowtowing to the Government only led to further oppressive and tyrannical measures. By their vehement opposition to the Act the Nationalist Bloc of the NIA made certain that the Government appointed Asiatic Advisory Board remained a "dead letter".

As a result of the pressures from the progressives and the shock of the Act the NIA and A.I. Kajee's NIC united to form a revived NIC in August 1943. The progressives, trade unionists and the Durban branch of the CPSA welcomed the move. But their expectations were short-lived since the old guard leadership who were still in power pursued the already discredited policy of sending deputations and presenting petitions. It was thus left to the progressives and the Durban branch of the CPSA to pursue a vigorous campaign against the Act.

---

[7] THE GUARDIAN 20 May, 1943.

Pretoria Agreement

Any lingering hopes that the reactionaries could be won over were shattered by the Pretoria Agreement of April 1944. In this Agreement the NIC delegation comprising A.I. Kajee, P.R. Pather, S.R. Naidoo, A.B. Moosa, T.N. Bhoola, Mohamed Ebrahim and S.M. Parule agreed to voluntarily implement the policy of segregation. This would be done by setting up a Board consisting of Indians and Europeans which would control occupations by the licensing of dwellings in certain areas. The Agreement was to be made statutory by an ordinance passed in the Natal Provincial Council.

There was an immediate outcry from the progressives including the Durban branch of the Party. The first public protest meeting against the creation of the Licensing Board was organised by the Durban branch of the Party. One of the speakers at the meeting was M.D. Naidoo who said "I declare that this is a betrayal, a shameful betrayal of the Indian community". By 28 April at a representative meeting, it was decided to form the Anti-Segregation Council (ASC) to oppose the Agreement, achieve the repeal of the Pegging Act and fight for full franchise rights for Indians. Immediately the ASC began an intensive campaign to thwart the sell-out. In this it received the full support of the Durban branch of the Party which said in a statement:

> *For the first time in the history of Indians . . . leaders of Congress have voluntarily agreed to legal segregation. The Licensing Control Board will zone areas in Natal as prohibited to Indians (European areas), restricted (in which a large number would be Indians) and exempt (Indian areas) . . . The Communist Party repudiates the right of a few individuals to commit an entire community in this manner. It demands that Congress take this matter to the mass of the Indian people and carry out their instructions; the Pegging Act be repealed unconditionally, the franchise on the common roll be extended to the Indian people; the provincial barriers be removed and all laws discriminating against the Indians be withdrawn.*[8]

---

8 THE GUARDIAN 11 May, 1944

Messages of protest were sent to the Prime Minister, the Administrator of Natal and the High Commissioner for India from the Natal Sugar Workers' Union; Indian Railway Workers' Union; Tea Coffee and Chicory Workers' Union; Chemical Workers' Industrial Union; Non-European Railway Passengers' Welfare Association; Workers of the Afritex mill, some branches of the NIC and the Natal Indian Physical Culture and Weightlifting Association. At the request of leading Indian workers' organisations Dadoo and H.A. Naidoo went to Durban. At this time H.A. Naidoo was stationed in Cape Town in his capacity as a full time member of the Central Committee of the CPSA.

The ASC conducted a magnificent campaign in which it brought into the political arena not only leading trade unionists but also the mass of the people. It articulated in a forthright aggressive and militant manner the intense opposition of the people to the betrayal. This shameful act sounded the death knell of the reactionaries who were now disgraced and discredited. To add to their discomfiture the Natal Provincial Council finally passed an Ordinance which went beyond the Agreement. Despite these rebuffs the reactionaries made one more attempt to save their positions. They interviewed Smuts in November 1944, but even he deserted them. After the interview Smuts declared that the Pretoria Agreement was "Stone Dead". It is abundantly clear that had it not been for the tremendous campaigns led by the ASC with the full support of the Durban branch of the CPSA the shameful betrayal of the Pretoria Agreement would have been accomplished.

At this time the Anti-Segregation Council was a federal body representing some 28 organisations and approximately 16,000 members. Meetings of anything from 50 to 8,000 had been organised throughout Natal. At all of the meetings the ASC minimum demands were: the smashing of the Pretoria Agreement; vetoing of the Natal Ordinances; repeal of the Pegging Act; franchise on the common roll; free and compulsory education to J.C.; equitable distribution of fertile land to market gardeners; state subsidies to market gardeners; removal of the colour bar and closer fraternal relations with the other National Liberatory Movements.

Decisive Elections

At the same time the ASC, now the dominant Indian political organisation in Natal, began to enrol new members into the NIC in order to turn it into a truly mass based organisation representing the interests of the whole community and not only the merchant class. But the reactionary clique hung on to their positions and prevaricated over calling a conference to elect new officials. However, they were finally forced to give way and agreed to call such a conference. Immediately there followed a feverish election campaign with both sides issuing manifestos, statements and electioneering pamphlets putting forward their views and attitudes. The NIC claimed to be against "any form of segregation", for equal pay for equal work, removal of the colour bar in all industries and the franchise for Indians only. However the reactionary leadership were prepared to accept a qualified franchise. True to their reactionary positions and outlook they raised the Communist bogey. They alleged that the ASC was "led by Communists, who were Communists first and Indians second". They were also against any real co-operation with the African and Coloured peoples and put forward the old worn-out gradualist strategy.

In reply the ASC issued a leaflet in which they said:

> *There are Communists in the Anti-Segregation Council as there are Communists in the Congress Committee, as also in the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League of India. There is nothing contradictory in an Indian being a Communist. To say that the Communists are Communists first and Indians second is to indulge in cheap sentimental trash, aimed at diverting the attention of the people . . . Moreover, the Communists have not sold the rights of the Indian people as the Kajee–Pather group has done. THE COMMUNISTS ARE FIGHTERS IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM FOR ALL PEOPLE.*[9]

The ASC held numerous mass meetings and daily factory meetings. At all these meetings the Council speakers and policy were enthusiastically received whilst the reactionaries' bid for mass support met with rebuffs on all sides.

Facing a landslide defeat the reactionaries continuously postponed the Conference. But they were compelled to call a Conference by a court order, and called an election meeting for October 21, 1945. However, before the meeting took place the reactionaries in order to prevent a public humiliation decided to withdraw from the elections. Consequently at the historic mass meeting attended by 7,633 an agreed list of ASC members were unanimously elected to fill the vacant 46 seats on the NIC. There were 12 Communists on the new Committee which included M.D. Naidoo, G. Ponen, M.P. Naicker, Billy Peters and D.A. Seedat.

---

[9] THE LEADER, 3 March, 1945.

Smuts' Challenge

In January, 1946, Smuts declared that when the Pegging Act expired in March, his Government would introduce into Parliament the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. This declaration was to challenge and test the mettle and resilience of the NIC, TIC and the SAIC. Following this declaration the NIC and TIC began to mobilise their resources for a concerted struggle. At this time the progressives in the TIC were in a much more influential position even though they were not in total control. Thus when the SAIC Conference met in Cape Town in February, 1946, not only were a large number of delegates progressives, but even some of the moderate delegates from the Transvaal and the Cape were in a defiant militant mood. After Smuts had summarily rebuffed a deputation of 50, the SAIC Conference passed a resolution which resolved to oppose the proposed Bill by (1) sending a deputation to India to demand a Round Table Conference failing which they called upon the Government of India to withdraw its High Commissioner and impose economic sanctions on South Africa. (2) "Proceeding immediately to prepare the Indian people of South Africa for a concerted and prolonged resistance, the details of which this conference instructs its executive to prepare for submission and and action to its constituent bodies".[10]

The Ghetto Bill introduced in March made the Pegging Act permanent and extended it to the whole of Natal, thus tightening up the restrictions upon the right of Indians to own, occupy and transfer their properties. Under the Bill, the Indian would only be allowed the right to buy, own and occupy property in so-called exempted areas, thus effectively herding the Indian population into ghettos. In terms of the loaded and communal franchise only those Indians with a Standard VI education and either an income of at least £84 a year or ownership of immovable property valued at not less than £250, over and above any mortgage thereon, would be allowed to vote. The Bill provided for two Indian representatives to be elected to the Natal Provincial Council for five years; three Europeans to the House of Assembly and two Senators, one to be elected by the Indians and the other to be nominated by the Government. Significantly the Municipal Franchise was ignored.

Indians had been deprived of the franchise in 1896 and of the municipal franchise since 1924. Now they were offered a totally unacceptable loaded communal franchise as a sop to counter the hard hitting effects of the Ghetto Bill. In many ways this was similar to the communal franchise offered to the Africans in 1936, when the African voters of the Cape were taken off the common voters' roll. Then the ANC had categorically rejected the Hertzog Bills. Now ten years later Smuts hoped to placate Indian opinion by offering them similar crumbs.

---

[10] THE LEADER, 16 February, 1946.

Reacting sharply to this monstrous Bill the NIC Provincial Conference held on March 30 decided to appoint a Passive Resistance Council to conduct the resistance struggle as soon as the Bill became law. The TIC similarly appointed a Passive Resistance Council. The Provincial Conference issued a manifesto of Resistance which appealed to:

> *"Workers, businessmen, professionals and farmers, only your united action can save us! Either we perish as a whole or we resist as a whole. There is no turning back. The time has come for suffering and sacrifice . . . Any Indian . . . who serves on the Advisory Board, accepts the communal franchise or obstructs the struggle in any way whatsoever, will be guilty of an act of despicable treachery against his family, his community and the principles of democracy . . ."*

The manifesto called upon

> *"the African the Coloured and all truly democratic peoples of South Africa and the world to declare their solidarity and support for the just struggles of the Indian people against the Fascist measure of the Union Government . . . The oppression of the non-European people of South Africa is not only racial strife and civil war, and a paving of the way for Fascism in this country but it constitutes a real threat to world peace and security . . ."*[11]

Even newspapers such as "The Leader" which had all along opposed the progressives now supported the call for a militant resistance campaign. On 6 April a mass demonstration of 6,000 Indians representing all sections of the community marched through Durban shouting the slogan "To Hell with the Ghetto Bill". At a mass meeting preceding the demonstration the Durban branch of the APO and H.I.E. Dhlomo on behalf of the African people declared their solidarity. Dhlomo said "We want all people to be free. The young people in the ANC support the struggle of the Indians."

---

[11] THE LEADER, 6 April, 1946.

Resistance Day

On June 2nd the Ghetto Bill became law and the Joint Passive Resistance Council declared June 13 as "Resistance Day" to mark the beginning of passive resistance. On this historic day complete Hartal was observed by Indians throughout the country. Workers, traders, professionals and students all responded magnificently to the call of the Passive Resistance Council. From the Transvaal a group of women entered Durban without permits, thus breaking the law to form the first batch of resisters. These women were, Mrs Meenatchie Sigamoney **Nanayar**, Miss Zohra Bhayat, Miss Zaynab Asvat, Mrs Amina Pahad, Miss Zubeida Patel and Mrs Chella Pillay. Dadoo reported:

> *'Resistance Day' culminated in an historic mass meeting of over 15,000 people at the Red Square in Durban. After the meeting a great procession marched to the corner of Gate Street and Umbilo Road, where under the leadership of Dr Naicker and Mr M.D. Naidoo, the first batch of 17 Passive Resisters (including 7 women) pitched five tents on a piece of vacant Municipal land in defiance of the Ghetto Act. Passive Resistance had begun.*[12]

The response of the Indian people especially the working class and the women was truly magnificent. Throughout the campaign the morale of the resisters remained high despite the provocations and assaults from white hooligans who were aided and abetted by the police. The campaign lasted two years, during which approximately 2,500 resisters had voluntarily courted imprisonment. Its beginning and end ushered in a new era in the history of the Indian political movements. Congress was now dominated by the progressives and militants. The reactionaries were relegated to the dustbins of history.

1946 marks a landmark in the history of the National Liberatory movements. It was the year in which the great African mineworkers strike took place. The workers in the face of intimidation, beatings and shootings stood firm. Leaders of the African mineworkers' union, ANC and the CPSA were arrested and arraigned before the courts. One of the leaders charged was Dr Y.M. Dadoo.

Since then the Indian people and their organisations forged ever closer links with the African people and the ANC. The Dadoo–Xuma Naicker pact of 1947 was the forerunner to the joint ANC–SAIC Defiance Campaign of 1952. Thereafter the congress alliance dominated the political arena in South Africa until the ANC was banned, and Umkhonto we Sizwe was founded.

---

[12] Dr Y.M. Dadoo, 5 months of struggle, A Brief Account of the Passive Resistance Struggle From 13th June – 13th November, 1946.

Factors For Change

An analytical examination will show how and why it was possible for the progressives and militants to win control of the Indian political movements. There are four main reasons, firstly the growth of the Indian trade union movement, secondly the participation and activities of the SACP, thirdly the role and entry into the struggle of the professionals, intellectuals and students and fourthly the never ending stream of racist legislation.

The Indian population comprised in 1946 and still comprise 3 per cent of the total population of South Africa. An overwhelming majority of the Indians live in urban areas, especially Durban. In Natal the majority of the Indians are workers whereas in the Transvaal the trading element forms a large part of the Indian community. The 1946 census figures show that 37 per cent of the Indian working population were employed in Industry and 17.3 per cent in Agriculture as labourers on the sugar plantations, and subsistence market gardeners and farmers. However, since 1946 there has occurred a steady drift of Indians from the rural to the urban areas, so that today less than 2 per cent of the Indian population live off the land.

(1) *Trade Unions:–* As was pointed out earlier some Indian Trade Unions were at the inaugural meeting that formed the CPSA. With the economic expansion of Natal particularly after the depression years of 1930–32 came the inevitable proletarianisation of the Indian people. From early on Indian workers, mainly unskilled, formed Trade Unions to defend their interests and to increase their powers of collective bargaining. Ironically, unlike the African workers, Indian workers were encouraged by the Government to form trade unions. This was because they did not want Indians to join existing trade unions which had European membership. So effective were these unions, that by 1943, some 17,000 Indian workers were in recognised unions. These unions covered a wide spectrum of the Industrial and Commercial sectors. Some of the largest unions with predominantly or exclusively Indian membership were: the Natal Liquor and Catering Trade Employers'

Union; Natal Furniture Workers' Industrial Union; Garment Workers; Durban Indian Municipal Employees' Society; Textile Workers; Twine and Bag Workers; Biscuit Workers; Natal Union of Leather Workers; Natal Laundry Cleaners and Dyers Employees' Union and the workers on the sugar plantations.

The leadership in these Unions in which the communists played an important and invigorating role did not fall prey to the disastrous strategy of "economism". They skilfully combined the economic aspects of trade union work with that of building the political consciousness and understanding of the Indian working class. Three examples prove this point.

(a) When the Durban branch of the Laundry and Dyers Employees' Union affiliated to the NEUF, the President S.P. Pillay said:

> *"My Union has affiliated with the NEUF because we realise the working class struggle is not only confined to the economic front, but must extend to the political field."*[13]

(b) I.C. Meer, Secretary of the Natal Indian Teachers' Union, speaking at a Union meeting said:

> *We have to realise that the International position is such that we cannot stand aloof from what is happening in other parts of the world. Our future lies with the forces of progress and the very fact that we have formed a trade union and are fighting for the improvement of our conditions shows that we as progressive people have committed ourselves on the side of Socialism.*[14]

The meeting unanimously demanded May Day as a school holiday and free education for Indian children.

(c) The famous and historical strike of the Dunlop Rubber workers of Durban, which lasted for nearly five months despite intimidation from the employers, recruiting of scab labour and the sell out of the European workers. This strike showed the tremendous potentialities of inter-racial class solidarity of the black workers and augured well for the future. Trouble at Dunlops started with the Company's policy of replacing Indian workers with cheap African labour. From April to December, 1942 the number of Indian workers was reduced from 300 to 150. Matters came to a head in December, 1942, when the employers fired 13 militant Indian workers in an attempt to smash the workers' Union. African and Indian workers came out on strike. But the Europeans deserted and went to work. Despite the tremendous hardships the strikers stuck to their guns. In their stand they were ably supported by the CPSA and other trade unions. One of Durban's biggest workers' demonstrations was held on 17 January, 1943 to protest against the introduction of company unionism into the Dunlop factory in an attempt to smash the militant Natal Rubber Workers' Union. The mass meeting of over 6,000 African and Indian workers wholeheartedly supported the Dunlop strikers and called upon every worker to levy himself 1 shilling per week on behalf of the strikers. Philemon Tsele, Secretary of the Railway Workers' Union, and Grenford Mapeka, organising secretary of the Iron and Steel Workers' Union, received rousing applause when they stressed the need for unity. Significantly the meeting ended with the singing of Nkosi Sikelele and the International.

---

[13] THE GUARDIAN, 2 October, 1941.

[14] Ibid, 19 March, 1942.

Thus the trade unions and the Indian workers were increasingly emerging as a powerful force. The active participation of the workers in the Unions and Indian political organisations coupled with the tremendous drive, determination, energy and aggressive leadership of some of the trade union activists contributed a great deal to the radicalisation of the Indian political movements. By this time, workers such as H.A. Naidoo, G. Ponen, Billy Peters, M.D. Naidoo and M.P. Naicker were prominent in the leadership of the NIC.

(2) *The C.P.S.A.* By the late thirties the Party began to implement with vigour and determination its stated policy on the primacy of the National Liberatory struggle in the South African context, and the organising and mobilising of black workers. Thus the Party began to actively assist in the building and strengthening of the Indian trade unions. From the late thirties the Party was highly successful in recruiting to its ranks a large number of Indians especially in Durban. At this time the Durban branch had a very large Indian membership. Moreover, militants such as H.A. Naidoo (in 1946 a member of the Central Committee) George Ponen, Billy Peters, D.A. Seedat, M.D. Naidoo and M.P. Naicker were not only active members, but they also held leading positions. Some of them such as H.A. Naidoo and M.P. Naicker first joined the party and later the NIC. In Johannesburg Yusuf Dadoo (also a member of the Central Committee) and other Indians were also recruited. Consequently, there emerged a two way dialectical process. The Indian members made the Party which was the most mature and

politically advanced organisation in South Africa more acutely aware of the necessity of mobilising the blacks. On the other hand it brought to the Indian organisations and people the scientific tools of Marxism-Leninism with which they could in co-operation with the ANC seriously challenge the unbridled tyranny of White Supremacy. It also ensured that the Indian working class realised that its liberation from Capitalism was intrinsically bound up with that of the African and Coloured workers, thus creating the necessary subjective conditions for the co-operation and solidarity of the black workers and progressive white workers not only for the successful conclusion of the National Liberatory struggle but also for the building of a truly Socialist South Africa.

During this period the Party was also active in mobilising and organising the African and Coloured workers, and forming closer links with the ANC. Witness the tremendously successful Anti-Pass Campaign of 1943–1944. Dadoo as chairman, with other party members such as Mofutsanyana and Moses Kotane fought a magnificent campaign, which by 1944 included ANC leaders such as Dr A.B. Xuma and David Bopape.

It was also in 1944 that the Government threatened once more to intern Dadoo if he pursued his activities on behalf of the Anti-Pass Committee. In a statement to the Chief Control Officer, Dadoo said that he was proud to be a member of the Communist Party of which he was a member of the Central Committee and reiterated his determination to fight the obnoxious pass laws. He said:

> *The abolition of the Pass Laws is today one of the vital problems of the country . . . I believe that no race can be indefinitely oppressed and discriminated against. I believe that the longer such discrimination continues, by so much will the troubles of the future be increased.*[15]

Meeting this threat head on, the Party organised a tremendous campaign to ensure not only Dadoo's liberty but also the rights of the Party and the other National Liberatory Movements to struggle against unjust tyranny. By the united efforts of the Party, trade unions, African and Indian political organisations, prominent members of the Labour Party and progressive churchmen the Government was compelled to withdraw its threat.

Clearly, the impact and influence of the CPSA was a highly significant factor in explaining the growth and rise of radicalism and militancy amongst the Indian people, trade unions and political movements.

---

15 THE GUARDIAN, 13 April, 1944.

(3) *Intellectuals, Professionals and Students.* After the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 there was a rapid increase in the number of Indian schools and school-going children. It is however, important to realise that the Indian people of Natal contributed financially more than the Provincial Authorities in the setting up of these new educational institutions. Since there was no provision until the 1940's for Indians to attend University, the few fortunate ones went to Fort Hare. At the very least elementary education enabled some Indians to obtain jobs as clerks or in semi-skilled occupations. It was the professionals such as Drs Dadoo and Naicker and lawyers such as George Singh who brought into the leadership of the movement the necessary intellectual and professional skills. They were not cut off from the people and realised from the very beginning that the most important task was the mobilisation and participation of the masses in the activities of the Indian congresses. Refusing to build lucrative practices at the expense of the people they threw themselves body and soul into the struggle.

Then there were young students such as I.C. Meer, J.N. Singh, Zaynab Asvat,C.I. Amra and Ahmed Kathrada (who in 1946, at the age of seventeen gave up his studies and became a full time organiser for the Transvaal Passive Resistance Volunteer Corps) who suspended their studies in order to play an active role.

All these elements combined well with the trading strata such as Molvi Cachalia, J. Nanabhay, Salim Saley and G.H. Pahad and with the representatives of the working class. Thus for the first time in the history of Indian settlement in South Africa the Indian political movements formed a genuinely united front. It was this unity which enabled the Congresses to initiate and sustain the passive resistance struggle for two years.

(4). *Racist legislation.* Prior to 1939 it was essentially only the Transvaal Indians who suffered severe restrictions since 1885 on their right to trade and reside in areas of their own choosing. In Natal these very severe restrictions only came after 1939. Thus the formation of the NEUF, close co-operation of the progressives in Natal and Transvaal, and the implementation of the Pegging Act in 1943 opened up the possibilities of a national struggle as opposed to the earlier Province oriented struggles. After 1946 the SAIC could genuinely claim to speak on behalf of the national interest. No longer were the Indians of the Transvaal and Natal fighting in isolation. Moreover since 1939 the increasing racist legislation imposed on all non-Europeans opened up the possibilities for an alliance of the black liberatory movements with the working class party the CPSA.

It was the increasing attacks on their rights which made the Indian people realise the futility of a compromising cap-in-hand policy. They were therefore very receptive to the ideas of the progressives who called for militant struggles not only to ameliorate the grievances of the Indian people but for the overthrow of White Supremacy.

Courageous Role

In the more recent history of the National Liberatory struggle the Indian people played a courageous role. They participated fully in all of the major battles and their leaders and activists like their comrades from the ANC, CPC, COD, SACTU and the Party suffered imprisonment, torture and death for their heroic contribution to the struggle. When Umkhonto was formed in 1961, Indians such as A. Kathrada, Billy Nair. Indris Naidoo, Shirish Nanabhay, Reggie Vandeyar, Issoo Chibba, Abdul Hay Jassat. Mac Maharaj and Babla Saloojee immediately joined the ranks. There were of course other Indians who also joined, but they are too numerous to name.

In the present era, with the bannings and arrests of the cream of the Indian leaders there is no effective national body to represent the Indian people. However, despite the intimidation and tyranny of the oppressors the Indian people have steadfastly rejected the dummy institutions such as the South African Indian Council. Recently the garment workers of Natal, mainly Indian and Coloured workers, came out in a magnificent strike which compelled the employers, Europeans and Indians, to increase the miserly wages paid to these workers. At Salisbury Island and other educational institutions the Indian students are refusing to accept the status of second class citizens and the obnoxious educational propaganda put out in the schools and Tribal Colleges.

Thus we see that in 1971, the radicalism and militancy generated in the period 1939–1946 is still strong. This potential and strength has to be mobilised so that it can play its rightful role in the developing armed revolutionary struggle. For the SACP it is imperative to increase its links and contacts with the Indian working class which has proved its capacity to imbibe, understand and put into practice the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

SCIENCE AND AFRICA

by Dr R. Press

One of the basic principles of capitalism is that the capitalist is constantly seeking ways to make more and more profits. To make a profit in the first place, he employs workers to extract the gold from the rock, to convert wheat into bread, to produce goods that will be bought by the people. Workers have to be paid. If science can show the capitalist how to run his factories with fewer workers and at lower cost, then the capitalist will support science, because it leads the way to bigger profits.

Science can perform this service because it is the function of science to discover the rules and ways of nature, the so-called laws of nature. If we know these laws of nature, then we can use them to our own advantage. The laws of physics show us how to transmit radio messages; the laws of biology allow us to grow more food in a field; doctors study medicine so that they can cure the sick. There are also laws of history which can show the way for the workers and peasants to become the ruling class and form the government in the various countries of Africa, just as they became the ruling class and today form the government in Soviet Russia and many other countries.

Science shows us, the people, how to create a better world for everybody to live in.

But when the capitalist looks at science, he only takes that which will help him to exploit the labour of the workers and peasants and so make bigger profits. In the universities, research institutes and colleges, we find that science is divided into chemistry, biology, physics, medicine and so on (called the natural sciences) where there is some freedom of study and research to enable the scientist to discover the laws of nature.

study and research to enable the scientist to discover the laws of nature. But the sciences of society – history, trade unionism, politics, economics and so on – are more strictly controlled. Any natural laws which show that the capitalist system must die and be replaced by a socialist state are distorted or hidden, in extreme cases banned outright. That is why in South Africa and other similar countries communists are arrested and banned, the African National Congress prevented from speaking freely to the people, because they have discovered that racialism and exploitation are against the laws of nature.

Different Worlds

Capitalism thus gives money, time, education, high wages and some freedom to those who will discover those laws of nature which will help capitalism to exploit the people and their lands. Where capitalism is well developed with many factories and workers, research and science is encouraged and Marxism and the science of revolution are suppressed. Where capitalism has few factories and only takes raw materials no science at all is encouraged.

Ghana had altogether 774 scientists in the whole country in 1966 and spent in that year £1,500,000 on research and had 5137 students studying at all the universities. The University of Birmingham spent £4,800,000 on research, had 6,245 students and graduated 757 scientists in the single year 1969. Concentrated in that one university in the industrial heart of England was more scientific effort than in the whole of Ghana.

In Table I we see that where there are large factories and many industrial workers, there are many universities and many students. Compare Great Britain and Nigeria whose populations are similar in size. Great Britain produces much steel and electric power showing that it has a large industry and many industrial workers. There are many universities and students. Nigeria has little industry and few students or universities. Compare South Africa, Australia, Mozambique and Kazakhstan, (a part of the USSR) all with similar populations but where industry is strong so science is strong with many students. As Engels said "If a society has a technical need, that helps science forward more than ten universities".

Science follows industry. Communists and communist parties are the scientists of politics and that is why where there is industry there are communist parties. Great Britain, Australia, South Africa and Kazakhstan all have the party of the science of communism, but where industry is weak it is difficult to have communists or natural scientists. There are many more students in socialist Kazakhstan than in racist South Africa although they have similar levels of industrial production and population. This is because all people are educated to the fullest possible extent in Kazakhstan, but only Whites in South Africa, with the Blacks getting either an inferior education or no education at all. Future development in Kazakhstan will show the benefits of a better social and educational system, with higher living standards for all.

Table II shows how far behind the industrialized nations the nations of Africa are. They have few scientists or science students and spend little on research.

A Better Life

Is this a problem? Does it matter if Africa is weak in science? Does science make life easier for the workers and peasants? Can they produce more for less work? The figures of Table III show the number of workers needed to do the same jobs in industry and farming over a number of years.

Under capitalism this means more workers without jobs but under socialism it means more holidays on full pay. So we need more real science, that is Marxism, science and workers' power.

It is no good just having more universities like some newly independent countries, for example Nigeria, Uganda or Malawi. Table III shows that in these countries the teachers of the universities come from countries outside of Africa (mainly from the capitalist countries). Even where the university is fairly old, for example Makerere, few of the teachers are home educated. In England or South Africa most of the teachers come from their homelands even in new universities, for example Bath. We must be careful that our children are taught by us and our friends and not by our capitalist enemies. In South Africa we know that Professor Z.K. Matthews and many others were prevented from teaching the African people and were replaced by whites or others who agree with Apartheid.

So what must be done? Let us look to our friends. Let us follow the example of countries where all science is encouraged – the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and other socialist countries.

Kazakhstan is a part of the Soviet Union. In 1918 before the Socialist revolution, there were only 22 people out of a population of six million who had higher education. There was no steel produced, only 1.3 million kilowatt hours of electricity per year, and very little industry. After the revolution the communist party led by Lenin was determined to educate the people for a better life.

Today in Kazakhstan there are over 300,000 students studying in universities and colleges of higher education. There are over 18,000 research scientists. Together with this, industry has grown as shown in Table I.

In fifteen years Ghana increased the number of higher education students per 100,000 of the population from 4 to 56. Burundi from 0 to 8. In Kazakhstan in the fifteen years after the revolution the number of such students increased from 13 to 250 per 100,000. The United States took about 45 years (from about 1910 to 1955) to increase the number of higher education students per 100,000 from 500 – 2,600. Kazakhstan took about 25 years (1940–1965).

It seems obvious that bearing in mind all the other advantages of socialism, the path followed by the socialist countries needs to be closely studied and adapted to Africa.

As a start more students could be sent to the Lumumba University in the USSR where in the years since 1960, when it was established, over 590 Africans have been trained as specialists. Industry must be rapidly expanded to provide the base for science and the demand for science. The science of Socialism and Marxism must be spread and encouraged.

Although the job is difficult it can be done. Even where there is a very small working class and few socialists or communists, if strong links are forged with the workers of the socialist lands the path will be easier.

Kazakhstan was helped by the workers and scientists of other parts of the USSR and is now a leading scientific nation. Bulgaria was a poor peasant land with few industries or scientists. After it took the socialist road, led by the science of Marxism, it worked closely with the other Socialist countries like the USSR and Hungary and is now a developed nation with a well developed science.

To summarise.

The way forward.

1) Take the path to Socialism.
2) Forge strong links with the workers of the world especially the Socialist Countries.
3) Develop industry.
4) Teach *all* people science.
5) Study the works of Lenin, Marx and Engels. Learn Marxism.

Mistakes to avoid

1) Do not import science and scientists from the capitalist world.
2) Do not spend millions of pounds on universities to educate a few special scientists.
3) Do not separate science from Marxism.
4) Science without industry is a tree without fruit.

TABLE I

Country	Production of Iron and Steel Millions of Tons	Production of Electricity Kilowatt Hours Millions	Population All races millions	Number of Universities	Number of University Students
Great Britain	36.0	245,000	54	42	184,000
Australia	6.0	21,000	12	14	100,000
South Africa	3.4	2,200	18	14	43,000
Nigeria	0.0	430	61	5	8,000
U.A.R.	0.2	2,200	32	6	140,000
Burundi	0.0	0	3	1	120
Mozambique	0.0	150	15	0	0
Kazakhstan (USSR)	3.0	21,000	12	39	115,000

TABLE II

Country	No. of Scientists	No. of Science Students	In millions of pounds Money spent on research & development	All figures per million of popula-tion in 1967
Great Britain	3,900	1670	16	
Nigeria	65	10	0.16	
Ghana	640	97	0.9	
Botswana	305	49	0.4	
Ruanda	70	8.3	0.03	
Hungary	19,600	3646	9.1	

Figures from U.N.E.S.C.O. Year Book

TABLE III

Number of workers needed to do a job (United States of America)		In Industry	On the farm
During the years	1920 – 1930	100	100
” ” ”	1930 – 1940	75	88
” ” ”	1940 – 1950	60	66
” ” ”	1950 – 1960	48	40

Figures from Scientific World (Journal of World Federation of Scientific Workers). Volume XIV No. 5 1970.

TABLE IV – Science Departments Only 1966

Country	University	No. of Students	When the University was started	No. of staff with degrees from Homeland	from other Countries
U.K.	Birmingham	1200	1880	150	10
”	Oxford	3700	1200	140	23
”	Bath	500	1966	90	4
S.A.	Cape Town	800	1829	20	17
S.A.	Pretoria	1600	1910	50	6
Nigeria	Ibadan	600	1948	4	52
Malawi	Malawi	200	1964	0	24
Uganda	Makerere	200	1922	0	34

Figures for Table I and IV from Oxford Economic Atlas 1965, Commonwealth Universities Year Book 1968, The Statesman Year Book 1968/69

TAXATION ROBS THE AFRICAN PEOPLE

by Sizakele Sigxashe

Taxation in capitalist states, generally, is designed primarily to pay for the machinery of repression required to maintain the ruling class (the owners of the means of production) in power. In South Africa the system of taxation of Africans in particular had and still has an additional, non-fiscal purpose. Together with the dispossession of the land it was designed to destroy the natural, non-monetary economy and thus to force Africans to sell their labour-power in order to get cash for taxes. Or in default of payment they could be 'legally' enslaved as convict labourers.

Taxes of a capitalist state

The state was formed during the last stages of the primitive communal society i.e. at the beginnings of slavery, when society divided into exploiters and the exploited classes – into slave-owners and slaves, feudal lords and serfs, and later on into capitalists and the working class. In order to be able to carry out its functions, the state needed big sums of money which it could get from nowhere except from the people in the form of taxes. The functions of the state were, first and foremost, military expenditures – the buying and manufacture of arms, construction and maintenance of law courts and prisons, the maintenance of an army and police force standing for the interests of the ruling oppressive class and opposed to the interests of the poor peasantry, serfs, working class and other progressive toiling masses. Secondly, these taxes were used and are still used under capitalism for financing the state apparatus or personnel which having gained political power from the people through the use of force, relies only on the same force for its survival.

Every state (capitalist or socialist) has a financial year which is characterised by a budget. A state budget is a mirror which reflects the activities of a state. In its budget, the state reflects its next year's plans in statistical figures. In a state budget we have a column of the expected income or state revenue for the coming year; and another column showing the estimated expenditures for the same coming year. In the budget of any capitalist state, the biggest source of state revenue or income is taxation. In the words of Karl Marx, taxes are "the economic basis for the existence of a bourgeois state and nothing else". The biggest sums of state expenditures go for Defence – the buying of arms, the maintenance of the army. This means that the bourgeois state forcefully takes away part of the already small earnings of the working people in the form of taxes in order to buy armaments, maintain an army to suppress and even slaughter mainly the very working people.

Taxes as a means of double exploitation of the working people

The working time under capitalism is divided into necessary labour time and surplus labour time. During necessary labour time (at present, about 20–30% of the working time), the worker produces his necessary means of existence – wages; during surplus time, he produces surplus value or profits which are taken away from the worker by the capitalist by virtue of the fact that the capitalist owns the means of production. This process of the expropriation of surplus value or profit from the working class is called exploitation. The very word 'wages' therefore reflects the opposite – profit; it reflects exploitation. When from this exploitation, when from this small wage from his employer the worker pays taxes to the bourgeois state, he is being doubly exploited. We therefore say that taxes are a means of double exploitation of the working people. Taxes may be direct or indirect.

Direct and indirect taxes

Direct taxes are mainly taxes levied by the government on incomes (on profits and wages). The effect of direct taxes on the conditions of the working people is that they lessen the already small wages which are supposed to be spent by them in buying consumer goods and other needs.

The tendency under capitalism is that indirect taxes form a bigger portion of state revenue than direct taxes. These indirect taxes are:

(a) excise duties — taxes included in prices of consumer goods.

(b) fiscal monopoly — a special excise duty by which a state has a monopoly of selling certain goods and services, sets its own prices which include tax on these goods and services, thus enabling itself to draw huge sums of money from the people.

(c) import and export duties — taxes on imported and exported goods.

Indirect taxes raise the prices of goods and thus become a very heavy burden on the shoulders of the consumers, the majority of whom are working people. In the final analysis, those who pay indirect taxes to the government are the working people, the masses, and not the capitalists as some gentlemen would like us to believe. This is mainly because when the capitalist sells his consumer goods on the market, the majority of the buyers of which are the masses, he sells them at their value plus the government's indirect taxes. Thus indirect taxes lead to a fall of the purchasing power of the wages of the working people. The sum total effect of both forms of taxes direct and indirect is the impoverishment of the working people leading to the shortening of their life span.

When a bourgeois state runs into financial difficulties, it borrows monies from either local magnates or from abroad. These loans are paid back in instalments already with a percentage of increment or with interest. The main source for paying back all these instalments are taxes from the broad masses. What is more interesting here is that it does not matter for whatever purposes the loan is to be used (in the interests, or, as in most cases, against the interests of the masses) the masses have to pay it back to the magnates through the government in the form of taxes. For example, the government of the Republic of South Africa wants to buy arms from Britain for a sum of £980 million. The government of South Africa will either have to stretch its budget revenue to include this £980 million or borrow it. The main task of these weapons is very clear — to kill the Africans, Indians, Coloureds and democratic Whites who will sooner or later be launching a national liberation war against the present racist regime, and to threaten the independence of other African States. But in the meantime these oppressed people, as long as they have not taken up arms, will be forced by the government to pay taxes for buying weapons which sooner or later will be used to slaughter them.

During the epoch of imperialism tied up with its inevitable aggressive wars, during the times of war preparations and war itself, the capitalist governments' appetite for big revenue, for taxes, is insatiable. (This revenue, these taxes are used mainly to finance military expenditures). Thus, when we speak of big budgets, big government loans, under capitalism, we mean the big volume of taxes expropriated from the working people. When we say that the budget is growing fast, we mean that taxes from the people swallowed up by the government are ever increasing.

Let us be more practical; let us examine taxation in our own country.

Taxes in the Republic of South Africa

In order to give the reader a clear picture of the system of taxation or double exploitation in South Africa it is necessary to make a short, concrete illustration of the system of exploitation itself in that country. This process of exploitation can be expressed by an analysis which shows the volume of nominal wages as compared to profits. (Although the statistical figures we have are not the latest, they show the tendencies, nature, volume and effect of taxes on the living conditions of the working people of the Republic of South Africa).

TABLE I

Exploitation of the working people of South Africa 1962*

(Figures in million Rands)

Real net national income	3,689.1
Nominal wages	1,025.4
Nominal wages as percentage of national income	27
Gross profits as percentage of national income	73

In 1962, 73% of South Africa's net national income created by the working people was distributed among the capitalists by virtue of their ownership of the means of production. Nominal wages of all the working people excluding their White aristocracy bribes comprised 27% of the national income.

Let us see how double exploitation of the same working people is carried out now by the capitalist and racist government of South Africa.

---

*Recalculations are made according to "Statistical Year Book", Pretoria, 1965, pp 4–5.

TABLE 2

Double exploitation of the working people of South Africa*

(Figures in million Rands)

Net national income	3,689.1
Nominal wages	1,025.5
Direct taxes	305.4
Indirect taxes	232.0
All taxes – direct and indirect	537.4
All taxes as percentage of nominal wages	52
Factual wages after paying taxes	488.0
Factual wages (after paying taxes) as percentage of N. Income	13

As the table shows, through the process of the redistribution of the national income or expropriation by the government the working people of South Africa in 1962 were forced to pay 52% of their wages (which are equal to only 27% of the Net National Income) in the form of direct and indirect taxes to the capitalists and finally remained with only 13% of the national income they created.

A greater part of this 13% is the exact value of the labour power of these working people. It is that very portion of their wages that keeps them alive – that feeds, houses, clothes and sends them back to work for the capitalist class.

Drawing a conclusion from the above, we may say that in the process of working, the toiling masses of South Africa in 1962 produced 100% of the net national income from which they received 27%; 73% was expropriated by their employers. From the 27%, these working people paid 14% to the government in the form of taxes and remained with 13%.

Now let us see how much of the state revenue do these government taxes form.

TABLE 3

Volume of taxes in state revenue 1962*

(Figures in million Rands)

State revenue	734.0
Indirect taxes	232.0
Indirect taxes as percentage of State revenue	31.6
Direct taxes	305.4
Direct taxes as percentage of State revenue	41.5
All taxes	537.4
All taxes as percentage of State revenue	73.1

* "Statistical Year Book", Pretoria, 1965

Taxes contribute a big part of the South African state revenue – 73.1%. Contrary to the general tendency under capitalism, in South Africa, direct taxes contribute a greater part – 41.5% of State Revenue; indirect taxes – 31.6%. The racist taxation policies of the South African government break the general tendencies of capitalism. Most of these direct taxes are in the final analysis paid by the Africans. According to the South African Institute of Race Relations,* the additional direct taxes paid by Africans alone on top of taxes they pay together with other racial groups is 100 million Rands yearly; indirect taxes – over 1 million Rands. The additional direct taxes paid only by Africans are poll tax, local authorities' tax, hut tax, field tax, stock tax, hospital tax, school tax and others. These hospital, school and other such taxes do not go for the building of new African schools and hospitals or for their repair; no, these monies go to the government purse.

Let us look closer into the nature of some of these direct taxes. As an example we shall take the income tax and the poll tax. Capitalists in South Africa, like in any capitalist state, do pay income tax, but it must be noted that the more profits these capitalists reap from exploiting the working people, the more back payments, concessions, subsidies and exemptions they receive from their government not to pay income tax. Thus, the richer they are, the less taxes they pay. Besides the capitalists, income tax in South Africa is paid mainly by the working people of the age of 21 to 60 – all racial groups without exception. But, poll tax is paid only by African men of from the age of 18 to 65 not taking into account whether they receive income or not. This means that by the time the African is 21 years of age (i.e. has to pay income tax) he has already been paying poll tax to the government for four years. By the time a worker of other racial groups (Indian, Coloured, White) reaches the age of 60 and is thus exempted from paying income tax, the African worker still has to continue paying tax to the government in the form of poll tax for another four years. Thus, for African men, for the mere fact that they are men, that they exist – working or not – have to pay poll tax for eight years more than men of other racial groups. Thus, the most exploited and oppressed in South Africa are the most heavily taxed. The poorer they are, the more taxes they must pay. The South African government is not only a bourgeois government but a rabid racist government.

The check up, control and enforcement of the Africans by the government to pay additional taxes is done through the pass laws, the

---

***A Fact Paper (South African Institute of Race Relations), Johannesburg, No.4, 1960, pp. 17, 18.**

labour bureaux, administration offices, puppet African tribal chiefs. As a result of various infringements of tax and other pass regulations more than two thousand Africans are arrested each day in South Africa, locked up in gaols, some sent by the government as prison labourers or virtual slaves to work on farms for literally no wage.

Besides the aim of increasing the state revenue, the additional taxation of Africans is a measure to force the African men to go to work for whatever small wages in white man's industries, in order to be able to pay the big, various and ever-rising taxes. By this system of cheap labour power the capitalists and monopolists of South Africa are also assured of super profits from super exploitation of the African working people. To make it doubly sure that this process will ever obtain, the first step taken by the South African oppressive government was the expropriation of 87% of the African land, leaving them with 13% of the poorest, most barren and over-crowded land (Africans comprise 70% of the South African population). And so these millions of landless African working people are forced to be in and out of 'White South Africa' to work for the cash necessary to live in a money-economy society which South Africa is today, to be ready to pay indirect and direct taxes to the government, and, more than anything else, to be a source of super profits for the capitalists. In conclusion we may say that the intensification of the regulation of labour resources and relations by the South African government or state is one of the main functions of that state during the stage of monopoly capitalism in that country. Secondly, the enforcement of the Africans by the government to be a source of cheap labour for the South African capitalists, exposes the South African government to be what it is – a government of the monopolists, a government supporting and carrying out the orders and interests of the capitalists and monopolists. Karl Marx and F. Engels defined the modern state as "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie".

The notorious, merciless super exploitation of the African working people as Africans and not working people of any other racial group, the extra burden of the racist government special additional taxes on Africans only (as a racial group) have so impoverished the said people, shortened their average life span to only 34 years whilst that of the white man, for instance, is 64 years. Thus, with grim humour concerning their own condition and at the same time the fatal effect of taxes, the Africans in South Africa refer to another African who has passed away as *ubaleke irafu* – (one who has escaped from the tax).

Low incomes, heavy taxation have resulted in hunger, stark poverty and its consequences of malnutrition, tuberculosis, high infantile mortality rate among the Africans. For every 1,000 infants born, in many parts of South Africa, an average of 300–400 African infants die each year. The corresponding figure for white infants is 27. *This relative and absolute worsening of the living conditions of the African people obtains mainly because they do not have a share in the political power of their country.*

To conclude, the working people of South Africa, as a whole, suffer from capitalist exploitation and double exploitation; but a bigger part of this "whole" – the African working people, suffer from that exploitation doubly. It is only from the African working people that the capitalists reap super-profits from their super-exploitation or colonial-type exploitation. It is only from the African working people and their unemployed that the government receives additional revenue in the form of additional, to be exact, racist taxes. It is these objective living conditions that put the African working people, their trade unions, their Communist Party and their African National Congress in the vanguard of the South African political struggle. It is these material conditions that have made, make and will make the African working working people occupy the front line position in the battles against racial oppression and capital. It is they who are the most oppressed and exploited in South Africa. And, it is they therefore who have a historic mission to fulfil – to lead the revolution in our country to complete victory.

In our long struggle for *the main goal – the seizure of political power,* some of our best sons and daughters have already fallen, others are in concentration camps. But for every one of our gallant soldiers that has fallen on the battlefield or is in a concentration camp, two qualitatively new soldiers voluntarily join the struggle, continue and develop it even to a higher level.

All in all, a mighty invincible army of the people, the oppressed – Africans, Indians, Coloureds and democratic Whites is struggling to destroy the present racist government and its policies for a government based on their Freedom Charter. Our struggle is a just struggle – a struggle waged by the oppressed for their national liberation. Because of this fact, our struggle is supported by all forces of progress – in our own country, in our continent, and in all other continents the world over. It is supported by all socialist states, by all Communist and Labour Parties in socialist and capitalist countries, by anti-colonial newly independent states and by the world national liberation movement. Besides that, we have moral superiority over our enemy. All this makes our struggle invincible and our victory inevitable.

LABOUR MONTHLY
Founded 1921 *Editor: R. Palme Dutt*

A Marxist commentary on political events in the cause of national liberation and socialism.

20 pence monthly – £1.20 half-yearly subscription – £2.40 yearly.

(Students: £2.20 yearly – £1.10 half-yearly.)

– all post free (surface mail) from –

DEPARTMENT AC
134 Ballards Lane
London N3 2PD
England

BOOK REVIEWS

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WORLD: THE FOREIGN POLICY OF APARTHEID *by Avery Vandenbosch (Kentucky University Press, $8.50).*

This survey of South African foreign policy from 1910 to date shows us bourgeois academic "objectivity" at its blandest. Mr Vandenbosch has no analysis to offer and scarcely an opinion of his own. He recites the facts, rehearses both sides of every argument, and leaves the reader to draw the conclusions. The facts which he relates include nothing new; he has confined himself entirely to published sources.

Within these limits, however, Mr Vandenbosch has done a valuable job. The facts are accurately set out, there is no other comparable survey of the subject, and this must obviously become the standard textbook.

The point which most clearly emerges from this study is the consistency of South African foreign policy down the years. The imperialist ambitions which we see so clearly behind the policies of the Vorster government are not the invention of Mr Vorster. South Africa has always cast covetous eyes northwards, has always been interested in forcing Africa to accept her racial policy. To fulfil these ambitions, South Africa has always relied on some sort of partnership with British imperialism.

In the early days, South Africa hoped to expand by way of direct donations of territory by the British Empire. The most notorious example of this is, of course, the South Africa Act of 1910, with its provision for the Protectorates to be handed over to South Africa. For forty years and more, successive South African governments agitated for fulfilment of this British half-promise. But that was never the limit of South African ambition. In 1921, Heaton Nicholls proposed that South Africa should "purchase" Northern Rhodesia from the British South Africa Company. In 1922, a delegation of Kenya Whites, dissatisfied with British colonial policy, was received in Pretoria. In 1929, Smuts made a proposal for a federation of South Africa and British controlled states to the north. When he was Minister of Defence in the thirties, Oswald Pirow repeatedly asserted that "South Africa's first line of defence must be on the Equator". When this statement was turned against him during World War II, Pirow protested that he had been thinking only of defence against black revolutionaries.

As late as 1943, Smuts was still hoping to ride to a South African Empire on Britain's back. He then proposed a postwar reorganisation of the British Empire on regional lines, with one of the Dominions taking charge of each region. The idea of a South-African-led federation was still alive in 1952, when S. J. Tighy proposed a resolution to that effect in the South African Parliament.

The British attitude to all this was endlessly ambivalent. On the one hand, Britain was very willing to use South Africa as a junior partner, with a role in maintaining the Empire. On the other hand, the crudity of South African racialism was always seen as a disadvantage. Thus the Protectorates clause was put into the South Africa Act, but never implemented. Thus in 1921, Winston Churchill asserted that union with South Africa was the only possible destiny for Rhodesia (Rhodesia – not Southern Rhodesia), but in 1922 the doctrine that African interests must be "paramount" in East Africa became part of British policy and became an obstacle to South African ambitions.

In the late fifties and the sixties, South African thinking on these matters obviously had to be revised, since Britain was no longer in a position to hand African territory over on a plate. We now see clearly that it was not objectives, but only methods, that were being re-thought in those years. The expansionist theme is now being played again, but in a new key. The partnership with Britain is still there, but

Britain no longer has the power to say a final "yes" or "no" to South Africa's demands.

South African foreign policy has always been frankly and shamelessly directed against the peoples of Africa. South Africa's increased freedom of action makes that policy a graver danger than it has ever been.

Phineas Malinga

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA. VOL II: SOUTH AFRICA 1870-1966. *Edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson. Oxford University Press, £5.*

Writing about the first volume of this work (*African Communist*, No 42, 1970) the present reviewer commented that it was a 'most notable work' and opened 'an entirely new epoch in our historiography'. Much to my regret, it is impossible to be as enthusiastic about the second.

It is true that some of the chapters (notably those on the growth of peasant communities by Monica Wilson, on farming by Francis Wilson, the growth of towns by David Welsh and the subjection of African chiefdoms 1870-1898, by Leonard Thompson) maintain something of the drive – the determination to treat South African history as that of the whole population, not just of the white minority – which distinguished Vol I and marked it off from all its academic predecessors.

The same cannot be said of the remainder of the book: Hobart Houghton's potted economic history; René de Villiers section on Afrikaner nationalism and Thompson's own chapters on the Boer War and the making of the union.

The economic history is virtually a paean of praise to the remarkable growth and development of the South African economy. It is true that the writer refers to the 'disparity in incomes' (which he grossly underestimates at about five to one) as between whites and others. This, he mildly comments, 'has caused concern on both humanitarian and economic grounds'. But there is no attempt whatever to correlate the great growth of profits and developments with its true source – the grinding poverty, dispossession, proletarianisation and exploitation of the Africans. Under the influence of the ultra-reactionary American economist Walt Rostow, Houghton has lost the clarity of vision and crusading spirit of his earlier, more progressive days.

One is left to wonder whether Professor Houghton had read or pondered the meaning of David Welsh's crushing comment on page 182 of the same book:

> *'African reserves were regarded as "reservoirs of labour" and congestion, landlessness and crop-failure were welcomed as stimulants to the labour supply.'*

René de Villiers, editor of the Johannesburg *Star*, mentions, but in effect minimises the profound influence of Fascism and Nazism upon the development of the Nationalist party, and the transformation of present-day South Africa into a Hitler-style police state. He writes about the 'anti-Nationalist forces' as if they consisted exclusively of the English-speaking whites. For him, clearly, politics is and will remain the white man's preserve.

Of course it might be said that this omission is made up for by the essay on 'African Nationalism' by Professor Leo Kuper whose fifty pages make up a tenth of this volume. This chapter was left out of the special edition for South Africa after the publishers had received legal advice that its content, which cites statements by the ANC and various banned and silenced leaders, would infringe the law in this country.

In fact Kuper comes to the 'conclusion' (one feels sure that he started off with it!) that 'African nationalism' – in which term he comprehends the entire revolutionary democratic Congress Alliance – 'at no time became a major force in the political life of the country' Why then, one wonders, has the entire political structure of the state been mobilised against this movement, and even Kuper's pale pink pages culled? As he has demonstrated in his other writings, Leo Kuper has an incorrigible tendency to smother otherwise valuable research material in his own jejune and incorrect theorising.

The mere fact that the editors have segregated the political expression of the aspirations of four-fifths of the South Africans into a single, non-essential, chapter is evidence of the extent to which they, perhaps not consciously, have betrayed the purpose proclaimed at the outset of their first volume: to produce a whole history of the whole people of South Africa.

Thus there is no real inkling to be gained from this book of the heroic strivings of the majority of the South African people, their labour and liberation movements; nor that these movements are the key to the future, the only real opposition, their vision of our country, the Freedom Charter, the only alternative to the monstrous edifice of tyranny and racialism created by imperialism and its proteges in Southern Africa.

Indeed there is no real theme or vision to this second volume at all. The writers of the various chapters appear to have little in common in their outlook and approach; most of them seem lost. The whole reads more like a collection of essays than a history.

On the other hand, there is a great deal of valuable material upon which those who can afford the high price or otherwise gain access to the book may draw the conclusions which, for the most part, the writers have failed to supply. Taken all in all the Oxford History still represents a very considerable advance on any comparable work in this lamentably impoverished field. Still, this is something of a comedown after the brave promise of Volume I.

A. Lerumo

TRAILBLAZERS – STRUGGLES AND ORGANISATIONS OF AFRICAN WORKERS BEFORE 1945

By H. Deutschland, published by Trade Union Publishing House – Tribuene GDR – Berlin 1970, 184 pp.

The book deals with the struggles and organisations of African workers before 1945 in Africa south of the Sahara. The author aims at throwing light "on an up-to-now quite dark chapter in the history of the African labour movement" as he says in the preface. The importance of this becomes obvious when one considers that "many young African trade union officials – obviously misinformed by false representatives in bourgeois and social reformistic literature – regrettably incline to deny labour struggles and the trade union movement before 1945 in their speeches, articles and books" (page 167, footnote 17).

The book is a summary of a doctoral thesis which Dr Deutschland defended at the Karl Marx University, Leipzig in 1967. Dr Deutschland needs no introduction to African trade unionists. He taught at the Fritz Heckert College of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB) in Bernau and as head of the Institute for Foreign Students met many African trade union functionaries. He has travelled widely in Africa and is now stationed in the Central African Republic as the Ambassador of the GDR.

The book discusses the difficult process of the emergence of the African working class and its movement under colonial conditions. The author traces the strikes by African workers back to the 18th century:

> *"The earliest report refers to a strike by Nova Scotia settlers in Freetown in 1793 . . . Nearly one hundred years later, in 1874, there was again a strike in Freetown waged by dockers."*

There followed strikes in Kimberley (1882), Livingstone (1894), Cape Coast (1896), Lagos (1897) etc.

The task of the author was not an easy one when one considers that the bourgeoisie was not interested in documenting these struggles and the African working class itself was not in a position to do so. In his approach he says, he follows the advice of Engels, namely: "in illustrating the situation of the working class and in sketching its struggles to give preference to the documents and literature of its opponent and fall back on the documents of the labour movement itself only in the lack of such material". This approach, he observes, has its advantages:

> *"to hold a mirror in front of the face of the bourgeoisie and its ideologists and prevent charges of a personally biased view of history and window dressing".* (Preface)

The book is factual, anti-colonial, anti-racial and anti-imperialist. It is part and parcel of the ideological class struggle waged by the African people against imperialism and internal reaction. It is a weapon in counteracting some of the strange ideas disseminated by way of newspapers, radio, literature and schools in Africa. The African masses who, because of poverty and illiteracy, are materially and hence ideologically dependent on the ruling "elite" will find a liberating force in it. The book will enable them to know their past so as to master the present and plan the future. After all what is history being studied for if not for this?

In the words of Quaku Hamilton a "West African seaman" (quoted in the book) who visited the Soviet Union in 1931:

> *"Since my eyes have been opened I have decided that despite all the persecutions of the imperialists I am going back to my country and I shall tell all the workers that there is only one way in which the working class and especially the black slaves of Africa can free themselves, and that is, to do like the Russian workers"* (page 154).

F. Meli

SOUTH AFRICA: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Edited by Heribert Adam, published by Oxford University Press, 1971. Price: £3.50

"South Africa: Sociological Perspectives" is a collection of fifteen essays, written by different social scientists who, according to the editor of the book, have "professional expertise in the areas on which they write" (page viii). The areas covered include racial segregation, education, racial stratification in the labour market, aspects of urban life and the attitudes and ideologies of different groups – Africans, Afrikaners and the power elite.

In his Introduction, the editor defines the purpose of the collection and sets out the theme which, it is argued, unites the apparently discrete topics dealt with in the essays. The aims and scope of the book are conveniently summarised by the editor in the following passage:

> *"Despite its emphasis on what are considered relevant issues, this collection is likely to be criticised from two opposing standpoints: on the one hand that it is not impartial enough, and on the other that it is mere academic theorising and of little help in actually instrumenting change in Southern Africa. Indeed, this study was never intended to be a handbook for the politician. It does not offer suggestions or advice as to how desired goals might be*

efficiently achieved. What it presents is the effort of many scholars to analyse the complex dynamic of the South African social system in operation. Such an endeavour constitutes an indispensable prerequisite for any realistic policy of social change" (page ix).

It is in the book's favour that no attempt is made to discuss or prescribe political strategy and tactics – nothing would have been more bizarre, at least from a Marxist standpoint, than such an attempt by a group of academic writers totally divorced from the organisation of and participation in real political practice.

At the same time, it is clear from the passage quoted that the essays in the book are regarded as having a direct political relevance. This is based on the contention that they provide the kind of analysis of "the complex dynamic of South Africa" which is a necessary precondition for "any realistic policy of social change".

There can be no doubt that an analysis (which *can*, at least in part, be made by academic writers) of the political and economic system of a society *is* a necessary prerequisite of correct political action. But stated in this way the proposition is too abstract. The point is that more than one analysis can be made of the same society and any particular analysis will be closely related to the specific (but often unstated) ideological position of the analyst. Thus, more concretely, different analyses of South African society will be linked to reformist or revolutionary conceptions of social change. It is precisely in this regard that conventional academic social science is most misleading for, by not making this link explicit, it is able to produce allegedly objective or scientific accounts of the society which, however, start from the liberal, reformist assumption that the basic institutions of the society will (and should) continue to exist.

The present volume provides a clear example of this. The contributors "share an essentially critical orientation towards Apartheid" (page viii), but generally (with perhaps one or two exceptions) this stems from the belief that Apartheid distorts the proper functioning of the society's institutions. For example, Doxey (Chapter XIV) reproduces the well worn argument that Apartheid is based upon irrational racial prejudice which inhibits (capitalist) economic development; Dickie-Clarke (Chapter XI) argues that Apartheid leads to appeals for African solidarity which

> *"is traditionally and understandably the weapon of the powerless, but when used indiscriminately and outside its proper sphere can only be damaging. For example, in universities devoted to objective scholarship and independence of thought it is singularly out of place"* (page 221).

From this viewpoint the solution, to the problem of South African society, implicitly assumes the continuation of the political, social and economic institutions of capitalism (although this latter term is rarely if ever used in the book) coupled with the more or less rapid disintegration of the "distorting" practices of Apartheid.

This position is reflected in the analyses presented in the book in two related ways. Firstly, the essays tend to focus upon separate phenomena such as education, attitudes, urban change and so on, without ever showing how these are the outcome of the structure and processes of the society as a whole. That is to say, at no stage is the society as a totality called into question. Connected with this is the overwhelming explanatory importance which is accorded to racial and political ideologies. Despite the editor's claim that the aim of the book is

> *"to ground subjective responses and their institutionalised forms within the objective social forces, which have given rise to them"* (page viii)

it is noteworthy that from the first essay by Jordan K. Ngubane in which "the race crisis is viewed as a conflict of minds", to the last by Danziger which deals with the ideological legitimation of power, no attempt is made to analyse the emergence and role of ideologies in relation to the social relationships of specific groups in the social structure except by general and oversimplified reference to "the blacks" and "the whites".

The inevitable consequence of any analysis which attempts to explain the *sources* of racial conflict and ideologies in terms of racial categories, is the reduction of political economy to simply an additional (albeit important) theme or aspect to be dealt with. Indeed, Adam accepts this explicitly:

> *"Inevitably, however, many important themes (particularly in the realm of political economy) could not be dealt with in detail due to limitations of space"* (page ix).

It is to be noted, in passing, that to a considerable extent the writing on South Africa from the left is affected by a similar theoretical error. The essential point is that political economy is not a theme but a mode of analysis in which the social relations of production constitute the foundation (but not the whole) of the analysis and the interrelationship of the economic and political (including race) relations constitute the substantive content of the investigation. For Marxists, the revolutionary content of the study of society lies precisely in showing how the social and political superstructure connects to the basic economic structure to form a complex interdependent whole. Social change from this perspective thus necessitates revolutionary changes in the basic structure of the society.

The failure of the contributors to Adam's book to make this kind of examination has resulted in a work which, to a large extent, is superficial and unenlightening. While some interesting snippets emerge from Adam's study of the attitudes of the power elite, Kgola's analysis of contradictions in the university sector and Ford's discussion of social mobility, very little new material is to be found in the book, notwithstanding the fact that thirteen of the fifteen essays were specially written for it. Overall, the book adds almost nothing to our understanding and certainly makes no contribution towards the type of analysis of the political economy which is urgently required by the revolutionary movement.

S. O'C.

INTELLIGENCE, PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION – A MARXIST CRITIQUE

By Brian Simon, published by Lawrence & Wishart, London 1971

IQ tests, the philosophy and psychology of education, ideological influences on psychology and education – these are issues which conventionally are treated as being matters for specialists even though all of us are the subjects of these issues. Brian Simon in "Intelligence, Psychology and Education" closely and lucidly discusses the rationale and construction of IQ tests; the underlying ideological foundations of British and Soviet education and how this influences educational philosophy and practice in the respective countries. Also in the book is a paper on Karl Marx and education and one on the current race and intelligence controversy. These papers, all previously published, are linked together by Simon's active interest and deep concern in education as an important medium for the development of the child's intellect. The central thesis of the book is that consciousness or intellect develops and changes and that this process is largely effected through language which is social and specific to man. From this thesis Simon naturally sees the relationship that if the education of the child is socially mediated then it is inevitable that it is going to be subject to ideology. As a Marxist he clearly demonstrates that the ideology has its roots in the class organisation of society.

The reprinting of these papers is timely now that some American and British psychologists are rekindling the old controversy about intelligence being inborn and static and as such measurable by IQ tests. The current popularised "scientific" finding that black people are genetically inferior to white people is based on IQ test results. Professor Simon rigorously exposes the falseness of this claim by a detailed analysis of the basic assumption behind IQ tests. By a lucid explanation of what an IQ test is when stripped of the elaborate statistical symbols and numbers which give it its scientific aura he removes the foundation away from those who use this as the rationale to stratify man into superior and inferior classes or races.

The argument of fascists is that the underprivileged, be they black or white, are where they are because they are born stupid. So-called scientific evidence is being adduced to support this fascist proposition. The evidence is not based on scientific fact but depends on the inferred conjecture of intelligence being a fixed and static attribute. This assumption about the nature of intelligence is invalidated by an analysis of what IQ tests are. If any progressive has illusions about whether IQ tests are scientific instruments then the chapters on this question alone are well worth careful reading.

Throughout the book there is also an analysis of the socio-economic interests that benefit from such theories. A theory that supports the stratification of people into an elite and a class of followers serves the function of reinforcing class society. This selection of children by IQ tests for one type of school or another i.e. for the preparation for a manual or intellectual vocation reflects the elite vs. working class dichotomy in capitalist society. Whether this is done by "scientific" IQ tests or the cruder Bantu, Coloured, Indian education systems in South Africa is only a question of degree – the intention is the same.

IQ tests emerged in the 1930's when imperialism was desperately trying to hold itself together in the face of the economic crisis generated by capitalism. That this issue re-emerges in the present to justify the exploitation and political subjugation of black people in America and elsewhere is significant. The reactionary thesis of the genetic inferiority of black people has been challenged by black and progressive organisations in the USA. More significant is that this type of pseudo-science has not curbed the struggle of black Americans for freedom. It has been grasped by the racists and fascists in Europe and America.

The relevance of this book for Africa is twofold: our obviously direct concern in the "scientific" evidence for the intellectual inferiority of black people. The other relates to the indirect element of the influence of capitalist ideology in the educational system that independent African states have largely inherited from their former masters.

Simon shows that while both England and the Soviet Union have compulsory secondary school education, the education system in each country is vastly different. In the Soviet Union, philosophy, educational psychology and an educational system that aims at fully developing each child has created out of a nation of serfs one of the most technically advanced groups of people in the world in less than 55 years. Simon has explained *how* this happened.

Intelligence, psychology and education are approached as interrelated issues and subjected to a Marxist analysis. The clarity with which the issues have been presented makes the book invaluable to educationists and all persons concerned with the development of man's potentialities.

P. H.

APARTHEID AXIS – UNITED STATES & SOUTH AFRICA

By William J. Pomeroy, published by International Publishers, New York

The growth of the negro liberation movement in the USA has inevitably created a new upsurge of interest amongst Americans about South Africa and apartheid. In part, perhaps, this is accounted for by the black people of the United States developing new feelings of affinity with black people everywhere as their own national consciousness rises; in part it is rediscovery of their own ethnic past and history in black Africa; and in part it is because the United States now has so vast a stake in the financial-industrial establishment of apartheid that the awakened American people are beginning to feel some personal responsibility for their own country's share in apartheid, and in enabling it to survive in the face of world challenge.

"Apartheid Axis", by William J. Pomeroy, is a useful pocketbook description of just how big US capitalism's responsibility is. Written for the American public, it is a simple description of apartheid and how it battens on the coloured peoples of Southern Africa, and also a comprehensive record of the American share – economic, diplomatic and political – in building the system. If the facts of apartheid are well known in Africa, the facts of the US part in apartheid is not. This booklet should help to make it better known. It will be a useful addition to the library of all fighters against apartheid wherever they may be, Africa included.

T.

On 50th Anniversary of the S.A.C.P.

ALL WENT MAGNIFICENT IN '21

We address our people's cause
to ourselves, as our beginning
in a micro-probe of five decades.
Moments wrested from movements
compressed in the trap of time,
ensnaring strong emotions
grasping great actions;
life's hunter stalking 50 years.

The fight did not begin in '21
it only incorporated.
Whatever bleeding preceded
and there was much blood,
whatever celebrations receded
and there was much to sing about,
all went magnificent in '21.

Now full tilt at fifty,
decades ahead flush red from our eyes,
the clapping of our guns
curtain-calls the fisted years.

Scarlet Whitman

MARX AND ENGELS

ON THE
PARIS COMMUNE

This new anthology contains "The Civil War in France" with Marx's "outlines" on the subject, and articles, documents, speeches and letters. The binding is in attractive red imitation leather with gold lettering.

357pp *£1*

ON
IRELAND

The views of the founders of Marxism on England's oldest colony remain of immense interest. This anthology contains Engel's "History of Ireland" along with letters and articles, as well as relevant parts of "Capital" and other works. Also included are the writings of Jenny Marx on the topic.

518pp *£1. 50*

Catalogue sent free on request
LAWRENCE & WISHART
46 Bedford Row, London WC1R 4LR
England

LENIN
anthologies

MARX, ENGELS MARXISM	63p
AGAINST DOGMATISM	47p
AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR	63p
AGAINST LIQUIDATIONISM	47p
AGAINST REVISIONISM	63p
ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET STATE	63p
ON THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT	63p
ON LITERATURE AND ART	63p
ON THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	£1·05
ON THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT	47p
ON YOUTH	53p
QUESTIONS OF THE SOCIALIST ORGANISATION OF THE ECONOMY	63p
REPORT ON PEACE	37p

full catalogue available on request
LAWRENCE & WISHART
46 Bedford Row, London WclR 4LR
England

Printed by Nationales Druckhaus Berlin

POST FREE

You may get **The African Communist** sent to you post free by becoming a subscriber.

Anywhere in Africa – 20 p (4 shillings) per year (four issues) (airmail – £1. 50).

Europe – 60 p (12 shillings) one year; £1 (two years).

America & Canada – $ 2. 00 (one year) (airmail $ 4. 00); $ 3. 50 (two years) (airmail $ 6. 00).

Students – Full time students – deduct one quarter on above rates (except airmail).

FREE SAMPLE OFFER

If you would like your friends to receive a free sample copy of **The African Communist**, fill in this form and return it to us.

NAME . . . .

ADDRESS . . . .

. . . .

NAME ... .

ADDRESS . . . .

. . . .

Inkululeko Publications, 39 Goodge Street, London W 1